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THE INDIANA QUARTERLY MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

VOLUME IV

1908

Published Under the Direction of
THE INDIANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
Christopher B. Coleman, Editor
INDIANAPOLIS

EDWARD J. HECKER
PRINTER
524 1/2 EAST WASHINGTON STREET
INDIANAPOLIS

THE INDIANA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

VOL. IV

MARCH, 1908

No. 1

687353

EARLY COMMERCE IN INDIANA.

THE resources of Indiana were for years almost wholly agricultural,* and the citizen was, to the greatest possible degree, self-supporting and self-sufficient within the limits of a very narrow life. The farm supplied the farmer not only with most of the food that went upon his table, but with flax and wool for his clothing and hides for his shoes. He was, not infrequently, his own tanner and shoemaker; with his ax and draw-knife and shaving-horse, supplemented, perhaps, by a "burning-iron" for an auger, he was as often cabinet-maker as husbandman, possessing, indeed, a versatility and resourcefulness that, considering his scant equipment, was astonishing. The housewife and her daughters not only cut and made the family garments, but spun and wove the fabrics for the same. The immense advantage of division of labor by expert specialists which, along with improved machinery, has at the present so multiplied and cheapened commodities, they practically entirely missed, though a step in this direction was the itinerant "spinsters" and shoemakers, told of by some chroniclers, who went from home to home plying their trades where required.

But with all this self-sufficiency with which the average pioneer began life in the new country, he was by no means independent of the advantages of civilization, and his dependence increased as, with thrift, his wants increased. Of a large class few were satisfied with spicebrush tea and parched grain coffee, with wholly home-made clothes and conveniences, and with the total absence of finery and luxury. In copies of the *Vincennes Sun* of 1816 we find sundry modest advertisements of unspecified merchandise. These advertisements rapidly grow in number and in length. In the file of the following year appears

*The principal articles of trade are horses, mules, cattle, swine, flour, corn, whisky and lumber, which are either exchanged at home for foreign goods, or transported for sale to the southern market.—*Indiana Gazette*, 1823, p. 13.

a goodly variety of commodities, comprising dry goods, hardware, fine boots and shoes, millinery and hats, saddlery, whisky and salt. In 1818 commercial advertisements occupy large and conspicuous place in the pages of the *Sun*, and these continue to increase in diversity.

Indianapolis, where the difficulties of importing were far more serious than at Vincennes, and the trade of which may be fairly regarded as representing the social necessities, was hardly behind Vincennes. In the earliest local paper accessible to us—*The Western Censor and Emigrant's Guide*—we find, two years after the founding of the town, the advertisement of Conner, Tyner & Co., whose stock includes "cloths, cassimeres, baize, cassinets, flannels, blankets, bombazetts, robes, dress shawls, calicoes, cambrick, muslins, shirtings, vesting, hosiery, nankeens, handkerchiefs, umbrellas and parasols, plaids, stripes and chambrays, linen, hats, combs, bonnets, shoes—black, coloured and morocco, spoons, knives and forks, saws, files, saddlery, school books, butcher, shoe and pen knives, chissels, gouges and plane bitts, hammers and hatchets, hinges and screws, padlocks, latchets, spades, shovels, tongs, cotton and wool cards, augers, &c., &c. Also, queensware and glassware, groceries, powder, lead and shot, iron, steel and nails, chalk and Spanish whiting, tinware, &c., &c."*

Elsewhere we find coffees, teas, sugars, wines and other spirits, drugs and nostrums, segars, tobaccos and pipes, indigo and foreign dye stuffs, oils, soaps, spices, confectionery, trunks, musical instruments, stationery and books, shad and mackerel, watches and clocks, 10-plate stoves,† patent ploughs, mill furnishings and other articles representing the importations of the country.

*Of all the imports none was considered more important than whisky and salt, and the same paper quoted sees fit to announce with a capitalized heading and an exclamation point, the following important item of news:

"KEEL BOAT NEWS!

"Arrived at the landing opposite Indianapolis, on Saturday last. Keel Boat Dandy, with 28 ton cargo, consisting of Salt and Whisky, the property of S. and D. Miller, of Maysville."

†*First Stove in Wabash*.—The first stove in Wabash county was purchased in Pittsburg, Pa., by Arch Stitt, taken to the Ohio river and conveyed by bateau to the Wabash and up that river to Lafayette. From that place the trip to the Stitt home in Rich Valley was made by way of the old canal. The stove was an exceedingly heavy affair, with three raises, or steps, and both the pipe and stove were great curiosities to the neighbors, who drove several miles to see them. Other stoves were introduced soon afterward, but fire-places and ovens, the latter outside of the house, continued in use many years later.—*Wabash Plain Dealer*.

This description from Young's History of Wayne County (p. 63) presents a vivid picture of the pioneer store:

"Smith's store, inside, would be regarded by most of our readers as a curiosity shop. Here was a rude counter; there were a few shelves fixed up to the log wall. On these were seen packages of Barlow knives, with a sample knife outside for a sign; sheep shears done up in the same manner; also gimlets, augers, etc. There were sickles wherewith to cut the first crops of wheat, hair sieves, trace chains, blind bridles, curry-combs, and numerous other necessities for the farmers. Nor were the wants of their wives and daughters forgotten. They there found calico, fine cambric, cap-stuff, pins, needles, etc. Here were sold some of the first wedding garments for the settlers' daughters, and here was kept also a small stock of imported broadcloth, but rather too fine for many to wear. Occasionally a young man who wished to appear in a coat of blue cloth, with yellow metal buttons, a high and rolling collar, and a forked tail, after the fashion of those days, got his outfit here. Smith increased his stock from time to time, to supply the demand of the constantly increasing population, and being for several years the only merchant in the county, he acquired an extensive and lucrative trade." This was in Richmond, in 1810. Smith was said to have brought his first stock by pack-saddle from Cincinnati or from Eaton, O. The wagon trips, later, to Cincinnati for goods required from six to ten days. The number of these stores and the extensiveness of their stocks, despite the risks and expense of securing them, shows that even in those days in a material sense as well as spiritually, man could not live to himself alone. But the difficulty of getting supplies was sometimes too great for even the most urgent demand to overcome. The desperate straits attendant upon isolation is well illustrated by the following account given by Robert Dale Owen in a little book on Plank Roads (p. 20). Though the story is located in Illinois it might as readily have applied to Indiana. "Last winter," he says, "the inhabitants of McLeansboro, a small town in southern Illinois, some forty or fifty miles northwest of Shawneetown, found themselves, in consequence of the miserable condition of the roads around them, cut off from all supplies and thus deprived of coffee, sugar and other necessities of

life. Tempting offers were made to several teamsters, but none of them would stir from home. At last a farmer in the neighborhood declared that he had a team of four horses that no mud could daunt, and that he would risk a trip to Shawneetown and bring back the necessary supplies. Ten days elapsed, and his empty wagon was slowly and painfully dragged into town by two drooping and jaded horses scarcely to be recognized as part of the fresh and spirited team that started on this expedition. Their owner, by great exertions, had reached Shawneetown, where he took in about half a load. Two of his horses were killed in the attempt to return, his load was left, perforce, on the road, and the surviving horses were so worn down by the trip as to be unfit for use during the rest of the winter."

Judge D. D. Banta, in his history of Johnson county, tells of a teamster who, hauling a load of goods to an Indianapolis merchant, had to roll off and leave in the woods a barrel of salt which, owing to the continued "horrible" condition of the road, remained there till the barrel went to staves, and "one of the most celebrated 'dry licks' ever known in the county was the consequence."

The securing of the money wherewith to purchase supplies was sometimes no less difficult. In the transforming of the surplus wealth of the country into this wealth from abroad the producer was at every disadvantage. His overplus of hogs, cattle and grain were a drug until he got them to a distant market, and even then the price was wholly out of proportion to the labor and cost of getting them there. The hauling of a load of wheat for perhaps more than a hundred miles over quagmire roads was an arduous undertaking, aside from several days' time consumed, and instances are told of farmers who, after this drive to Madison or Cincinnati, turned about disgusted at the low prices offered and hauled their loads back home in hopes of better returns later. Nor was the urging of a drove of reluctant hogs over the same road less laborious. That they might be equal to the trip, we are told, they were sometimes put into a field "where men employed for the purpose drove them back and forth for several days in order to train them for driving on the road.* Their condition as to fatness after this "training" and

*D. D. Banta in *Indianapolis News*, June 8, 1888.

the following long drive to market may be guessed at. The cost of drovers and the expenses upon the road cut down the margin of profit no little, and after the market was reached the owner was subject to the depressed prices of an almost illimitable supply that flowed from all parts of a vast hog-producing area. And what was true of hogs was true of other animals that found their way to market by foot as the easiest way of transportation.

Or, if the settler was so located that he could take advantage of navigable water and float his produce down by flat-boat, while he could carry on the craft many times more than by his wagon, the risks of loss were multiplied; his market was far-off New Orleans, the time occupied was weeks instead of days, and the expense back with his proceeds, whether by steamboat or, as some chose, by foot or horse, through hundreds of miles of wilderness, carried with it both expense and risk.

Again, if he sold at home, the limited market, glutted with an over-supply of such things as he produced, afforded him next to nothing. Some of the prices quoted are ridiculously low: Dressed pork, \$1.00 per hundred; wheat, 37½ cents per bushel; corn, 10 to 25 cents; oats, 8 to 12½ cents; butter, 3 to 8 cents per pound; eggs, 3 to 5 cents per dozen; chickens, 50 to 75 cents per dozen; turkeys, 15 to 25 cents each, and wild meats, skins and ginseng, which were made tributary to the income, at proportionate rates. Young cattle are given as low as \$2.50 each; milch cows, \$5.00 to \$10.00, and good work horses at \$25.00 to \$50.00.*

These products disposed of at these rates were not even sold for cash, but, for the most part, exchanged for high-priced imports, such as muslin at 50 cents per yard; common calico at 37½ cents, and other fabrics, as well as tea, coffee, etc., in proportion. It required about a bushel of oats to buy a pound of nails; a bushel of wheat or two bushels of corn to buy a yard of calico or a pound of coffee. Maurice Thompson, in his "Stories of Indiana," (p. 209) says that "a yard of silk cost as much as eighty bushels of corn would sell for. Calico was exchanged at the rate of one yard for eight bushels of corn. Good broadcloth

*See D. D. Banta's smaller history of Johnson County, pp. 67-69; Young's Wayne County, pp. 62-63; and Elliott's Evansville and Vanderburg County, pp. 98-99.

commanded one hundred bushels of corn per yard." Under these conditions the commonest queensware and pewter on the table were more objects of pride than cut glass and sterling silver at the present day; the few ounces of tea were treasured for special company occasions; the girl's dress of calico was kept for Sunday wear, and was kept long, regardless of change of style in Paris; while the broadcloth suit with which the young man, if he made pretense to gentility, equipped himself for his wedding was, in the words of Judge Banta, "to be the suit of his life and to last for dry-weather Sunday wear for many years."

The reasons for these high prices are not far to seek. Some of the difficulties of the importer, even in the more accessible parts of the State, are set forth in Elliott's History of Evansville and Vanderburg County (pp. 98-100). The early merchants in that section awaited their supplies from eastern markets as a coast merchant might the return of the sailing vessels from foreign ports. "Articles of wearing apparel, cloth, cutlery, etc., had to be purchased in such markets as Baltimore and Philadelphia, and hauled over the mountains to Pittsburg in wagons, and from there boated down to the villages on the Ohio river." As a result, the transportation tariff added to the original cost made the articles almost prohibitory except for the well-to-do. Nails, for example, were so high that few were used in the construction of the log houses or upon the farm at all. The wagon-maker managed to use not more than two or three pounds of these in making a wagon-bed, and the blacksmith very often made his own horseshoe nails. This, it must be borne in mind, was immediately on the Ohio, the great artery of western commerce. When, after leaving the river, goods had to be wagoned far into the interior, it is evident that the inequalities of exchange must be increased. The wagon rates, for example, from the falls of the Ohio to Terre Haute were \$1.50 per hundred pounds.

Something of a factor in the exchange and distribution of commodities was the peddler, who, by wagon or afoot, carried on his itinerant traffic. Elliott, in his History of Vanderburg County, gives an account of the origin and service of the peddling system in his section. Enterprising merchants and traders of the East, he tells us, "started peddling wagons all through

this section. These wagons contained all sorts of supplies that were sold to the farmers for cash or traded for eggs, chickens, turkeys, feathers, butter, and even bacon. In fact these peddlers would take anything that they could dispose of in the Eastern markets, in exchange for their goods. The pack peddlers also followed the country roads and were merchants in their small way. In the early history of the settlements of this section the pack peddlers were mostly Irishmen or Scotchmen. The tramp artisan was also a means of transportation, but he only carried small supplies with which repairs of tinware, etc., were made. Pack-horses and donkeys were not infrequently seen on the highway."

GEORGE S. COTTMAN.

EARLY WAGON TRANSPORTATION.

[From an interview with William McFarland, of Indianapolis, who, during the thirties, hauled merchandise from the Ohio river markets.]

THE old-time teamsters were proud of their calling and of their teams, and by way of expressing their pride, frequently put bows over the hames hung with small bells, and with a number of these bows, aggregating perhaps a score and a half of bells to a team, they lumbered through the mud to a perpetual *melange* of melody. In addition they sometimes put over the hames broad housings or shoulder protectors of bear-skin dressed with the hair on, and a horse thus equipped was as vain as a rustic dandy. It was an unwritten law of the road that if a man stalled, and another teamster could haul him out with the same number of horses, the latter was entitled to the bells and housings of the weaker team. The driver never occupied a seat on the wagon, but always rode the "near" horse, and armed with a long "blacksnake" whip, tipped with a silken lash that cracked viciously, managed the pulling power of his team with a skill that approached a fine art.

Bad roads were the bane of those days, and the varying condition of these had much to do with the size of the load that

could be hauled and the time occupied in the trip. Under favorable conditions ten days to and from Madison or Lawrenceburg, and twelve days for the Cincinnati trip were counted on; but sometimes it took almost twice that long, and in the latter cases the profits of the business were meager. The tariff was about \$2.00 to \$2.50 a hundred weight, and with fair roads thirty hundred weight could be hauled with four horses.

Tavern keeping in those days was an important business, and houses of entertainment were strung all along the roads. Like the hostleries of to-day, some of them were good and some not so good, and the sagacious teamster on a thoroughfare not familiar to him, began looking out about stopping time, for two signs—a wagon-yard liberally littered with hay and a fat house dog. The former would indicate that the place was well patronized by wagoners, and the inference from the latter was that where there were plenty of scraps for the dog there would also be plenty of food for the guests.

These taverns were provided with large yards for wagons and swine, and within the house guests could be accommodated variously. The upstairs, perhaps, would be partitioned off into small bedrooms, where the fastidious guests could have privacy by paying for it, but a large general room on the ground floor, where the less particular traveler could stretch out on the floor, wrapped in his blanket, usually served the teamsters. In this apartment, perhaps, would be a miniature barroom, consisting of a deep closet with liquor on its shelves. Another feature, also, would be the saddle closet somewhere about the room where the riding paraphernalia was safely kept.

This mode of transportation continued and grew until the '50's, when the introduction and rapid development of railroads caused a swift decadence and the big-topped "Conestoga" and the jangling bells passed into history.

G. S. C.

SOME VINCENNES DOCUMENTS.

[The following are copies from original documents now in the office of the Clerk of Knox County, Indiana.—G. S. C.]

THE WILL OF THOMAS POSEY.

IN the Name of God, Amen. I, Thomas Posey, of Jeffersonville, Ind. Ty., being of sound mind, but knowing the uncertainty of life, doth make and ordain this, my last will and testament, revoking all others heretofore made.

I commit my soul to God who gave it, with a hope of pardon for my sins and reconciliation through the atoning mercies of my Lord and Savior, Jesus Christ; and my body to be interred in a plain and decent manner.

My beloved wife, Mary Posey, being considerably advanced in years, my desire is to place her in the most agreeable situation that my property may admit of, and to her own wishes. It will be very troublesome for her to keep house. I would therefore recommend that she should live with one of her children. Should she make choice of this mode, my will and desire is that my executors or administrators shall furnish her with the necessary supplies for her maintenance, and that she shall have a servant to wait upon her, and such part of my furniture as may be necessary during her life.

My children, John, Fayette, Lloyd, Thornton A., William C., and Eliza Maria, I leave assigned to each such portions of my property as I was able to give. To Lloyd, Thornton and Eliza Maria, I gave two slaves each, and made over to them certain lands, the titles of which are found defective, and a compromise having taken place with John Lewis, by which he relinquished to me a debt that I owed by law given Warner Lewis of about two thousand dollars, I mean to compensate for the defect of titles of the land given them each one-third of the \$2,000.

The residue of my estate I give to my children, Thomas, Alex, Washington A. G. and Sarah Ann T. T., except should Mr. Francis and Mrs. Lucy Fitzhugh make over property to Sarah Ann T. T. to the amount of a fourth part of the residue of my property, then in that case I devise that she should only receive a mourning ring.

Whatever property I may have remaining I direct may be disposed of in manner that my executors or administrators may agree upon, and I direct that they make deeds of conveyance for all lands, either sold or to be sold, and collect all debts owing me, and pay all debts justly due.

My Order of Cincinnati I give to John Posey; my sword and brass-barrel pistols to Thomas Posey; my watch to Alex Posey; my Stony Point pistols to Fayette Posey; my cane with gold head to Joseph M. Street; my sword cane to A. D. Thorn; my library to Lloyd and Thornton A. Posey; my riding horse and gold epaulets to Washington A. G. Posey, and a mourning ring to Eliza Maria Street.

I authorize my executors or administrators to either make sale of the residue of my property or make a dividend as may best suit the legatees, and as may be agreed upon by the said executors or administrators.

I constitute and appoint my sons, Thomas, Alex and Washington A. G. Posey executors of this, my last will and testament, any one of which by the consent of the others, may make deeds of conveyance to any of my lands.

Given under my hand this sixth day of April in the year of our Lord Christ, 1816.

THOMAS POSEY.

Filed April 14, 1818.

[Total appraisement of estate, \$957.75. Chattels. Another inventory of one Dearborn wagon and two pairs harness, etc., at \$270.00, and one bay horse, saddle and bridle, etc., at \$130.00. The first inventory made by Benj. Parke and John D. Hay.]

A SUIT AGAINST GEORGE ROGERS CLARKE.

LAURENT BAZADON, Merchant,	}	Attachment, \$20,000.
vs.		
GEORGE ROGERS CLARKE.		

BE it remembered that heretofore, to-wit, during the vacation and after the adjournment of the August court, which was in the year one thousand seven hundred and ninety-six, the said Laurent sued out of this court a writ of attachment, called a writ of foreign attachment against the said George Rogers Clarke, which said writ is in the words and figures following to-wit: Territory of the United States northwest of the river

Ohio, Knox County, Sct. The United States to the Sheriff our said County of Knox, greeting: We command you to attach all and singular the goods and chattels, rights and credits, lands and tenements and hereditaments of George Rogers Clarke, of the County of Jefferson in the State of Kentucky (as is supposed) that may be found in your bailiwick, and a true return thereof make before the justices of our County Court of Common Pleas next to be holden in Vincennes, in and for our said County of Knox, on the first Tuesday of November next; then and there in our said Court to satisfy the demand of Laurent Bazadon, merchant. In case the said Laurent shall establish his demand in a plea of trespass, therefore, with force and arms the said George entered the house of the said Laurent and took away the goods, wares and merchandise of him, the said Laurent, to the damage of the said Laurent, the sum of twenty thousand dollars, before us ourselves to be exhibited. Hereof fail not, and of this writ make due return. Witness Pierre Gamelin, Esq., first justice of our said court at Vincennes, the fifth day of August, in the year one thousand seven hundred and ninety-six. R. Buntin, prothonotary.

On which said writ is the following return, to-wit: One 20-acre lot on the mill run; one 20-acre lot joining; one 9-acre lot facing the rapid; one 6-acre lot facing the rapid; one 940-acre lot joining Clarksville; one $\frac{1}{2}$ -acre lot at the point of rocks supposed to be his. David Owens' information. Mr. Laccapagne told me of a 500-acre tract, No. 18, the rest mortgaged to him. Levied on the lands and tenements, etc., on the 30th September, 1796, rights and credits of G. R. Clarke. Christopher Wyant, sheriff.

On which return the plaintiff appeared by his attorney, and on motion it was ordered that the Prothonotary do advertise in the Publick Gazette that unless the defendant do appear at the next court that judgment will then be entered by default, and at the next term, to-wit, the tenth day of February, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-seven, plaintiff appeared and the same was continued until the next term, to file his declaration, at which time, to-wit, the eighth day of November, in the year one thousand, seven hundred and ninety-seven, the plaintiff appeared and filed his certain declaration against the defendant

in a plea of trespass, and these are pledges for prosecution, to-wit, John Doe and Richard Roe, which declaration is in the words and figures following, to-wit: County Knox Sct. Laurent Bazadon, late of St. Vincennes, in our said County, merchant, complains of George Rogers Clarke, of the County of Jefferson, in the State of Kentucky (as is supposed), and late General and commanding officer of a party of men, called the Oubache regiment, of a plea of trespass for this, to-wit: Whereas, the said defendant on or about the seventeenth day of October, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-six, in Vincennes, in our said County of Knox, and within the jurisdiction of this court, with force and arms, that is to say, with a body of men under military appearance, armed with guns, swords, knives, etc., etc., broke and entered the storehouse of the said plaintiff, and then and there took and carried away the goods, wares and merchandise, furs, peltries, books and accounts and papers of the said plaintiff to the value of twenty thousand dollars of the currency of the United States, and the same detained and kept, and afterwards, to-wit, on the same day and year aforesaid, at St. Vincennes, in the same county, and within the jurisdiction of the said court, disposed of the same to the said defendant's own use; and other injuries to him, the said plaintiff, and then and there did against the peace of the United States, and to the damage of the said plaintiff the sum of twenty thousand dollars, and therefore he brings suit, etc. John Doe and Richard Roe pledges for prosecution. I. Darneale, p. q., and thereupon came the defendant by Gabriel Jones Johnson, his attorney, and on motion of plaintiff for a continuance the same is laid over till to-morrow evening, at which time, to-wit, on Thursday the eighth day of November in the year one thousand seven hundred and ninety-seven, the parties appeared, the plaintiff in his proper person and the defendant by Gabriel Jones Johnson, his attorney in fact, whereupon it was ordered by the court that the said action be withdrawn and that the defendant recover of the plaintiff his costs and charges about his defense in that behalf expended, and the plaintiff in mercy, etc.

[From court book in Knox County Clerk's office, "Minutes from 1796 to 1799." A record of court cases. In this book Bazadon figures in fourteen different cases as plaintiff. This case was dismissed by plaintiff on return of writ.]

EARLY EDUCATIONAL CONDITIONS AND FOUNDING
OF A DENOMINATIONAL COLLEGE.

BY ALLEN R. BENTON, LL. D.

[Dr. Benton went to Rush county, Indiana, in 1848; was the founder and principal of Fairview Academy 1848-'54; after a year's study in Rochester, N. Y., under Dr. Conant, he became professor of "ancient languages" at the newly founded Northwestern Christian University in Indianapolis 1855-'61; was president of that institution 1861-'68, and was at a later period of his life connected with it for many years. He is now living at Indianapolis.]

FROM 1816, the time of the first Constitution of Indiana, to 1851, the time of the second Constitution, the work of education was carried on by the district schools, county seminaries, private academies and by colleges that began to be organized from and after 1830. This was a chaotic period. Educational funds were mismanaged or lost, tramp teachers abounded, all were grievously incompetent, and school equipment of all kinds was unknown. These schools for primary education, so inadequate and almost intolerable, were supplemented from 1816 to 1851 by seminaries and private academies. These supplied the deficiencies, to a degree, of the primary schools. In this period they number seventy-three and deservedly have an honorable place in educational history.

Coming to the State in 1848, I had the honor of organizing one of these academies in the eastern part of the State.* For many years it was a center of educational influence, attracting young men and young women to its advanced courses of study. These afterward were greatly influential in the communities from which they came.

This academy and those connected with it took an active part in advocating the adoption of the new Constitution of 1851. This is our present State Constitution, making provision, from the primary school to the university, for education free to all the youths of the State.

This Constitution was strenuously opposed as unjust, undemo-

*Fairview Academy, Fairview, Rush county.

cratic, and even dangerous. When taxation for the support of free schools was under discussion in the State legislature, one member is quoted as saying, "When I die, I want my epitaph written, 'Here lies an enemy of free schools.'" Wherever he is now, I doubt not he knows the un wisdom of that remark.

The new Constitution, which is the organic act for our present unrivaled system of education, was adopted by a scant majority, in round numbers, of 16,000 votes in a total vote of 140,000.

The rise and growth of Indiana colleges form an interesting chapter in the educational history of the State. These colleges sprang into existence within twenty years from 1830. A common impulse seemed to generate them. A common need was to be supplied. For this common need the State made no adequate provision, and, in fact, could not. All the colleges of the State, save one, sprang from the bosom of the church. For nearly two thousand years the church had been the constant patron of education. In the present there is no tendency to relax her efforts, and whatever criticism may be urged against what are often called derisively "small colleges," they are here to stay. In their original intent, they sought to train up an educated ministry; to maintain a religious sentiment in all their work; to provide teachers of high character for all grades of schools; and in a broad way to train men to become safe and effective leaders of thought in all the walks of life. These ideals, essential to the civic and moral virtues of the state, appealed powerfully to the religious sentiment of the people. Hence in the period from about 1830 to 1850, denominational colleges were established and well distributed over the State. About twenty* of these colleges now exist and exert a strong, wholesome influence throughout the State.

In this State one fact is noteworthy. The number of students taught and graduated from the denominational colleges far surpassed the number taught and graduated from the State institutions giving literary degrees. The professors, courses of study and necessary equipment for work could safely challenge comparison with any the State had provided. In this statement I do not include technical schools of the State or private ownership, as they do not offer what is recognized as college work.

*The number is given indefinitely owing to the vagueness with which the terms "denominational" and "college" are still used.

In this period of educational ferment and denominational activity in founding colleges, the Northwestern Christian University, now Butler College, had its origin. The number, the wealth, and the spirit and purposes of the new religious movement, seemed to justify and even demand it. The march of events during the last fifty years has fully vindicated the wisdom of its projectors. The ideas which the founders of this college sought to bring into forceful activity—liberal, catholic, Christian ideals—had at the time of its founding received slight recognition in other institutions of the State.

There were three leading constructive ideals that shaped from the first the policy of this institution. These were opposition to the extension of slavery; the Christian religion and morals as an integral part of its curriculum; and the liberal education of women in a system of coeducation.

The name "Northwestern" was adopted for the university in order to emphasize the belief that the Ordinance of 1787 forever consecrated to free labor this vast region of the great northwest. This was then imperiled by the struggle for the possession of Kansas and Nebraska, and by the Dred Scott decision. The name adopted gave due notice that education in this institution would not be subsidized so as to apologize for a social and industrial system at war with human rights and industrial progress.

The constructive idea, which doubtless took procedure of all others, was that this should be a Christian institution; this not in some vague, colorless way, nor in sectarian or denominational sense, but in a broad, catholic and positive sense—catholic as Christianity itself, to whose author it was dedicated as a monument of loving service. The founders entertained the conviction that no education was sound enough nor broad enough that did not include instruction in the highest of all truths, the moral and religious as well as the intellectual truths. These subjects are no doubt vast and complex, and are often disputatiously considered; but they are also the basic truths of character and the inspiration of every noble life.

In the organic act of this institution no concealment was made, but it was disclosed with distinctness and emphasis, that the Christian faith and Christian morals should here be taught, and should form an integral part of its courses of study. The

earlier colleges of this country sprang from the bosom of the church. About one hundred existed prior to 1820, and were the fruits of great personal self-denial and sacrifice, inspired by a sublime faith in the divine necessity of the work. These colleges and those established subsequently by religious bodies stand as a protest and safeguard against the increasing secularism of our time.

The views which I have thus far presented find ample confirmation in a communication made by Ovid Butler, whose honored name the university now bears, to the board of directors on the occasion of his seventieth birthday. He says: "I have given to the institution what I have to offer of care, counsel, labor, and of means for the purpose of building up, not merely a literary institution, but for the building up of an institution of the highest class, in which the Divine Character and the Supreme Lordship of Jesus Christ should be fully recognized and carefully taught to all students; together with the science of Christian morality as taught in the Christian Scriptures, and to place it in the front rank as the advocate and exponent of the common and equal rights of humanity." Such were the formative ideas of the religious and philanthropic men who founded this institution of learning.

Another fundamental idea sought to be realized in this university was the liberal education of women. At the opening of this institution in 1855, the idea that women needed or would be benefited by a liberal education was generally questioned and often derided. With one or two exceptions, no institution, East or West, of college grade, was willing to commit itself to the principle of the coeducation of the sexes. The plan was generally believed to be impracticable, and its advocates ridiculed as visionary. But with firm confidence in the wisdom as well as the justice of this course, the founders of this institution opened wide its doors to all who were qualified to enter, regardless of sex. And how fully has this wisdom been justified by the progress of events in the last fifty years. With the exception of a few older colleges in the East, clinging to their hoary traditions and former prejudices, all universities maintained at the expense of the State, and denominational colleges, with very few exceptions, have gracefully accepted the doctrine of coeducation,

and women are now admitted to the fullest privileges of the best institutions of the land. This point is urged to indicate how broad was the grasp of the issues in education; how much the founders of this institution were before the times; and why they deemed it necessary to establish this university.

Thus briefly have I sought to present the development of education in this State as typical of what has taken place throughout this great northwest in its system of public education; also the rise of denominational colleges as a part of the educational forces moulding the character of its people; and the rise of Butler College as an important and influential factor in carrying forward the plans of the authors of the Ordinance of 1787, who declared that religion, morality and knowledge should be forever encouraged throughout the imperial region of the great northwest.

INDIANA'S EARLY PENAL LAWS.

A COMPEND of the Acts of Indiana, printed in 1817, says that hog-stealing was punishable by a fine of \$100 and from twenty-five to thirty-nine lashes on the bare back, well laid on. Horse-stealing was punishable by fifty to one hundred lashes, and on second offense it became a capital crime, punishable with death by hanging. Receiving stolen horses was punishable by death.

Altering bounds incurred a fine of \$5.00 and twenty lashes, and on second offense two days in the pillory.

Mayhem was punished by a fine of \$50.00 to \$1,000, and if the culprit was unable to pay he was sold for five years to any one who might desire his labor.

For manslaughter a man was branded in the hand with the letters "M. S."

Obstructing officers was punishable with thirty-nine lashes.

In Clarke county, in 1807, a man named Ingram was convicted of horse-stealing and was condemned by the jury to hang. Judge Waller Taylor was on the bench. Ingram was pardoned on the scaffold. This was the only death sentence on record in Clarke county for this offense. At that period the lash runs through the whole category of crimes and misdemeanors. G. S. C.

PIONEER FEATURES.

BY BENJAMIN S. PARKER.

[From Mr. Parker's historical studies of Henry county, which last year furnished this magazine its series on "Pioneer Life," we select these features of pioneer life observed along the National Road, where the writer spent his boyhood—*Editor.*]

Improved Farm Machinery—Gipsies—Negro Fortune-Teller.

IT was on the line of the old National Road that threshing machines made their appearance amongst the backwoods farmers. The first was a crude, heavy affair of wood, with wooden cylinder and concave filled with irregular rows of iron spikes. It made no pretense of separating the wheat from the chaff, and these were shaken from the straw by men and boys with wooden rakes and forks. The power was a rough combination of wooden wheels and iron cogs. It required from four to six strong horses attached to the levers to make it revolve with sufficient rapidity to furnish power to the thresher. Thirty to sixty bushels of wheat per day, when fanned up, was about the capacity of the machine.

The next advance was a traveling thresher moved by cog wheels attached to the hubs of the wagons upon which it was hauled about. This machine made a partially successful pretense of cleaning the wheat, but scattered the straw and chaff and probably fifteen to twenty per cent. of the grain about the fields or along the roads. The introduction of these machines did not really lessen the farmer's toil, but they were sure prophecies of better methods and more perfect machines to follow, and as such were hailed with gladness by the people who were just emerging from the era of the primitive reap-hook or sickle, and the flail. The old method of cleaning the grain had been by pouring it down from an elevation when a strong wind was blowing, or fanning it as it descended with a great tow sheet held by

the corners and given the proper motion by two persons skilled in the process.

The improved fanning-mill, of the pattern that Will Cumback's father was reproved by a devout neighbor for having purchased, on the ground that it made "a wind contrary to nater," and must, therefore, be offensive to the Lord, was rapidly coming into use, and the fanning-mill peddler, with his long wagon of brilliant red wheat cleaners, was one of the patrons of the old road who did not permit himself to be forgotten through long absences. He could smooth over the defects and supplement the merits of his machines with as fine display of linguistic colors and varnishes as ever were made in the new land.

When the old traveling thresher, with six stout farm horses attached, driven by a rollicking country Jehu, and fed by an expert—the bundles being thrown upon the band-cutter's table from a wagon driven beside the thresher—came rattling and rumbling along the great road on a display trip, scattering straw and chaff to the disgust of the townspeople and the great delight of the pigs, chickens and little children, and closely followed by the inevitable fanning-mill peddler with his newly painted wind-raisers, the rural heart beat high and happily, and the agricultural statisticians figured out big profits for those who should thereafter cultivate cereals in the wheat belt of Ohio and Indiana. They figured well, and were not mistaken in their calculations.

The Gipsies.—From these *avant couriers* of agricultural and inventive progress to a band of wandering Gipsies was a long stride. But great as it was, it did not exceed the distance that seems to separate the Gipsies of the present—or many bands of them—with their handsome, commodious wagons, pretty horses, comfortably dressed people and fat dogs, from the beggarly outfits of shabby wagons and carts, bony old horses, poorly clad women and children and skeleton dogs, that haunted the old highway in the years long ago.

Camped beside the little streams and near the towns, they told fortunes, begged and swapped horses with the movers and farmers. They were distrusted by everybody, except as to the matter

of reading the future and telling the fortunes of those who entrusted them with their fates. The marvel of it all was not the skill of the Kanakee women in guessing at the past and future of the willing victim, but the large number of people who trusted in them implicitly. This class of citizens was not confined to the poor and ignorant, but embraced many of the well-to-do people. It mattered not whether the dark-skinned priestess read fate through coffee grounds and lines of the hand, consulted the sun and stars, or went at it off-hand and rattled away until out of breath and short of prevarications; her statements were implicitly relied upon and cheerfully paid for by people who would not have trusted their best friends in small business transactions with any such degree of confidence. Of course the Gipsy seers were always wise enough to locate the sorrows and disappointments of their patrons in the past, and paint their futures in rosy colors. Women were more frequent in their patronage of the Kanakee fortune-tellers than men, and love, marriage and domestic felicity, or infelicity, were the subjects upon which they were most inquisitive.

There was a widespread prejudice prevalent among the people against the Gipsies, based on the tradition that they made a business of stealing babies and small children. Scarcely would a band of those wanderers settle itself in some sheltered spot by the roadside, procure feed for its horses from the neighboring farmers, by trading either fortune-telling or money for it, or by right of discovery, than along would come a startling story that Gipsies—presumably the same—had stolen a sweet babe from a neighboring town, who never would have been regained but for the prompt and heroic action of the citizens in rushing to the pursuit and forcing the prompt restoration of the precious prize. It is not impossible that such stories were set afloat by the owners of corn fields, potato patches and chicken roosts, who were anxious that their Gipsy neighbors should be induced to move on, an event that usually occurred as soon as the harrowing tales had grown sufficiently to arouse the indignation of the credulous.

The Negro Fortune-teller.—"Tickle Breeches"—though when or how he obtained the name, if not from some rattling old tune

akin to "leather breeches," would be hard to discover—was a cunning old negro who boasted that he owned a musket "dat went troo de ole resolution war, en 'll shoot er man dead er mile off." He had been a slave, and his otherwise benevolent face bore the impress of the dissimulation and duplicity that the old environments had imposed upon him and that his newer occupations required him to keep up, for he was a fortune-teller of the first water, to whom fine town ladies in silks and satins paid willing tribute. He sweetened up his work with wonderful stories and cunningly applied flatteries, in the use of which he far excelled the Gipsies. Besides this he was one of the best of the old-fashioned fiddlers, and could evoke such rhapsodies from his ancient violin as set heels and toes to tingling for the motion of reel, jig or cotillion, and made him a great favorite at country dances. Though few of his clients owned up to any degree of belief in his stories, yet they exerted sufficient influence in strengthening the popular faith in his mystic powers as a voodoo to bring him many a "levy" and quarter.

MOVEMENT TO ERECT A MONUMENT TO GOVERNOR BIGGER.

THE following resolution, passed by the City Council of Fort Wayne early in February, 1908, largely through the initiative and influence of Mr. J. M. Henry, will be of general interest:

"In what was formerly known as the Broadway Cemetery, now known as the McCulloch Park, in the city of Fort Wayne, there lie the remains of Samuel Bigger, ex-Governor of the State of Indiana, who served in that official capacity from 1840 to 1843 with credit to himself and honor to the State, after having served for many years as the sole representative of the State of Indiana in the House of Representatives of the United States, from

which office he resigned to accept that of Governor of the State.* It may truly be said that he saved the honor of the State in his refusal to consent to the repudiation of the then State debt, and it is no less true that to his refusal was probably due a subsequent payment by the State of the debt, which at that time others thought should have been repudiated. Never since that time has the State been on the verge of repudiating its debt. It is certainly an honor to the city of Fort Wayne that it can claim the residence, in part, of a governor of such immense value to the State of Indiana, and the resting place of his body. This city never had the honor of claiming the residence or burial place of any other governor of the State. Some years ago the exact spot where lie the remains of Governor Bigger was discovered by the finding of an unmarked slab, which was known at that time to be the spot where Governor Bigger had been interred. The slab, which had been previous to that time neglected by the lack of any decoration or distinguishing mark to show, on the part of the city, its appreciation of the honor of having this city the residence and burial place of such a distinguished governor, was removed. The memorable spot can still be located by those who know its location, and it would be a sad loss to the city of Fort Wayne if, from the failure of the city to appropriately mark the spot, future generations would be unable to locate the same. The spot which has so far been thus neglected should be by the city befittingly marked by the erection of a suitable monument or other designation of respect and honor; now, therefore, be it

“*Resolved*, by the Common Council of the city of Fort Wayne, That it is the desire of the council that a suitable monument be erected on the grave of Governor Samuel Bigger, that his name be perpetuated for future ages.”

*Mr. Bigger served in the Indiana Legislature 1834 and 1835; from 1835 till his nomination for governor he was judge of his judicial circuit. After his term as governor he practiced law in Fort Wayne, where he died in 1845. — *Woollen—Biographical and Historical Sketches*.

WILLIAM DAWSON'S LIFE AND WORK.

BY MRS. M. E. CHARLES.

[Paper read before the Henry County Historical Society.]

WE speak of self-made men—men who have risen above adverse circumstances and have achieved success upon some line of activity in life. In the subject of this sketch we have an example of a self-made man, one who overcame many obstacles and, in a great measure, succeeded in his chosen line. He was not a native of Indiana, but came from Starke county, Ohio, with his parents when but a boy, and settled on a farm near Cadiz, in this county. Here he grew up in a family of six children, receiving such education as the limited facilities of that time permitted; and so well did he improve his opportunities that he was considered competent to teach school and taught one term while living near Cadiz and also a term or two at Sugar Grove, a mile and a half northwest of Spiceland, Ind. Here, too, he began to turn his attention to the study of astronomy.

Limited in means, he worked at a great disadvantage, making many of his instruments, for the most part, out of whatever material was at hand. At the age of twenty he began keeping a record of the weather. In the beginning he did not take the temperature daily, but a little later began doing so, taking it three times a day; at 7 a. m., 2 p. m. and 9 p. m. This he kept up for a period of about thirty-five years.

He was married July 30, 1862, to Abigail Hammer, daughter of Elisha Hammer, one of the pioneers of Henry county. They at first thought to set up their new home at Cadiz, but circumstances occurred which induced them to sell their partly finished house, and in March, 1863, they moved to Spiceland. This was in the midst of the Civil War and laborers were so scarce that when building their house there, William Dawson did a great deal of the work himself, and when ready for the lath his wife helped to nail them on.

An editorial in the *Indianapolis Journal* (date unknown) says of him: "Among the practically great and useful men of our age, but few, if any, now occupy a higher place as an astronomer and philosophic thinker, than William Dawson, of Spice-land, Ind. Prof. Dawson is to-day the self-made astronomer of America. His knowledge of that important branch of scientific learning has not been acquired by any course of study known to the college graduate. What he has learned as an astronomer he has gained only through other channels. He owes his present great store of knowledge to nothing but his own industry. His hands have never known any other calling than honest toil. By trade he is a shoemaker, and when not employed in calculating and measuring the star-depths he may be found at his shoe bench."

The dream of his early life was the possession of a telescope of four or five inches in diameter. But it was not until 1867 that he could spare the two or three hundred dollars that was required to obtain the glasses and parts that he could not make. After a good deal of correspondence with different astronomers he set to work, as he expressed it, "to get all the telescope he could for the money." He was well aware that a good object glass was the main thing, and he sent to Boston for one four and a half inches in diameter. This cost \$185. In addition he ordered three eye-pieces which cost five dollars each. In writing of this he said: "About the most gratifying occasion of my life was the arrival and sight of glasses for a six-foot achromatic telescope." While the glasses were on the way he procured a zinc tube, made larger at one end than at the other, in which he placed his treasure upon its arrival, and although it was snowing he soon had the satisfaction of testing the quality of the glass and his workmanship upon surrounding objects which he could see distinctly a mile or more away. He succeeded in mounting his telescope satisfactorily, and in a manner that admitted of its being turned in any direction. He said much study and work were done before all this was completed, and considerable shoemaking had to be done, too. But it was highly gratifying to set the telescope in range with a star and then see a large "diamond in the sky" at noonday.

The late Rev. Myron Reed once said: "I believe in endowing individual genius instead of colleges. There are many people in the world who are gifted with a special talent for helpfulness to society. William Dawson, of Spiceland, Ind., has a genius for astronomy. By the closest economy he succeeded in securing a telescope, and by persistent study he has become familiar with many astronomical phenomena. But while he was up in his observatory with his pet instrument, earnestly plying the heavens with questions, he was liable to be called down at any moment to the prosaic work of cobbling a pair of shoes."

William Dawson was one of the most conscientious of men in his dealings with his fellow men, and painstaking to the last degree in his astronomical calculations. So accurate was he in his work that persons who were acquainted with him were sure that any statement given out by him had been sufficiently verified to make it safe to accept it. Prof. Edward Holden, of the Lick observatory, said to a young lady from Spiceland who visited the observatory on Mt. Hamilton, that if William Dawson said a thing was so they immediately accepted it as the truth, such confidence had they in his ability and accuracy. He was much interested in the contest between astronomy and religion. He did not want to detract one iota from the great benefits of the church in all ages, but he frequently pointed out, in articles written for publication, the persecutions which the sciences of geography and astronomy have endured. "But now," he wrote, "this warfare on science is happily passing away, and we of this age partake of the sweets of science without knowing the true source of our joy."

His contributions to the press were many and varied, touching upon almost every phase of astronomical phenomena. In the *American Meteorological Journal* for 1884 was printed a series of articles containing tables of barometric observations for the period of time between 1861 and 1884. The *Kansas City Review of Science and Industry* for August, 1883, contains the eclipses from 1800 to 1900, as calculated by Mr. Dawson. He wrote frequently for the *Indianapolis Journal* for a period of years; occasionally for some Eastern papers, and also for some of the county papers.

Besides being practical, he saw the beauty of the relation of the heavenly bodies to each other and to the needs of humanity, and could express this relation in beautiful language. In an article about the moon, he wrote, "A very moderate telescope, two or three inches in diameter, will show two or three hundred lunar mountains and craters which are located and named on maps, and of course may be learned. But the view as presented through a good telescope four or five inches in diameter is one of splendor, in which we contemplate thousands of mountains, valleys, shadows, etc., wherein we are soon lost in wonders."

Writing of the star-groups, giving their relative size, position, and time of rising and setting, he said, "Let us now for a moment transport our minds back to the first week of creation. On the sixth day of that week, old father Adam was probably the first mortal to behold the setting sun. We wonder what he thought, or how he felt, as the orb of day neared the western horizon, descending the more rapidly the nearer it approached the surface of the earth, and still waning as it crossed the line of sight. Soon it was gone and the shadows of evening soon enveloped the first inhabitant of earth. Did he think the sun would rise again? and when or where? But now perhaps the crescent moon was observed wending its way to the place where the sun was last. It went down also. Soon the evening star was there and greeted the wondering eyes of the beholder. And as day departed and night came on, the little gems of stars burst forth from out the blue vault of heaven. Doubtless a constellation was observed in the west, a little way above the horizon and another as far above the eastern horizon. An hour of time quietly passes by and one of the star-groups is hid beyond the western slope of the earth, while the one in the east is fifteen degrees higher than it was an hour before. Now these very sights have been repeated ten thousand times since creation's dawn; and they are presented to our gaze."

In 1878 he built a new residence, and on the second story of this house he constructed a dome about twelve feet in diameter, from his own plans, in which he mounted his telescope. This dome was made to revolve so that by a slight push of the hand the telescope could be turned upon any part of the heavens.

William Dawson was an interesting talker, especially when conversing upon the subject of astronomy. Many a student of Spiceland Academy has taken advantage of his obliging disposition, and while waiting for him to mend a shoe, plied him with questions about the sun, moon and stars, or some kindred topic, and felt much ahead of his classmates who were so unlucky as to have no need of the services of the cobbler.

He was the first astronomer, so far as I have been able to learn, who discovered the periodic recurrence of sun-spots. He began his observations of the sun in March, 1867, and for several days saw no spots, and but few were seen until about the middle of September when a group of fifteen appeared near the sun's center. From this time the number and size of the spots increased up to August, 1872. He generally used a magnifying power of one hundred diameters and on one occasion, in the month of August, 1872, saw 640 sun-spots; changing to a two hundred eyepiece he counted the astonishing number of 950 spots. But a change soon followed this display. The number gradually grew less and the spots smaller until during 1878, when often none were seen for days. This was near the end of recurrence, which is eleven years. The size of these spots vary much, but to be seen as a mere speck they must have a diameter of four or five hundred miles. The largest one seen by him he calculated to be 30,000 miles long and 12,000 miles wide.*

In 1888 he spent the summer in Kansas, hoping that a change of climate would benefit his health which had not been good for several years. He seemed to improve while there but did not long hold what he had gained. He continued to decline in health until the summer of 1890, when he became so feeble that he was no longer able to go up stairs to his observatory, but as long as he was able he assisted in making up the records of the weather. He passed from earth on the 12th of August, 1890, leaving the world, and especially the astronomic world, richer for his having lived in it.

*The periodicity of the sun-spots was observed earlier by Schwabe, a German astronomer, and by Wolf, of Zürich. The latter is ordinarily credited with the discovery of the general law of the recurrences, which he traced back to the time of Galileo. Watson's work seems, however, to have been entirely original and independent of these other observations and researches.—*Editor*.

OLD INDIANAPOLIS LETTER.

[To Mr. Arthur Osborn, of Spiceland, we are indebted for the following copy of an old family letter to his brother John, then of Ohio, but who later lived and died in Economy, Wayne county, Indiana, which town their father, Charles Osborn, laid out. This letter is written on a sheet of paper folded in such a way that the sheet made the envelope as well as a place on which to write. It was sealed with a wafer, and the cost of carriage (18¾c) was paid at the receiving office.]

PRINTING OFFICE, INDIANAPOLIS, CENTER TOWNSHIP,
MARION COUNTY, INDIANA,
FIRST DAY 13TH OF 1ST MONTH, 1828.

I YESTERDAY received thy letter of 12th Mo. 9th, which had been detained by high water till this time. The land in Wayne county is to be had on good terms generally. The National Road goes through Richmond, Centerville, this place and Terre Haute, on the Wabash, strait from point to point. It is seventy-one miles to the Ohio line, seventy-five to Terre Haute. This town is situated on the east side of White river in a high, dry bottom, the court house three-fourths of a mile from the river. The place begins to look like a town. There are about a thousand acres cut smooth, ten stores, six taverns, a court house which cost \$15,000, many fine houses, and six weeks back had in it 1,066 inhabitants, lots worth \$100 and the place somewhat sickly but improving. A few Friends in the county, two families in town; eleven miles to Monthly meeting. I have not been to Friends' meeting since Yearly meeting.

The Legislature has been six weeks in session here; it expects to adjourn in one more. Bill Elliot is a member. I work by the piece; make from three to four dollars a week clear. I could get work all next summer, but I do not want it here. I shall quit in the spring, go to Wayne perhaps, work on my land or teach a school, and I have promised to go to father's to see them in the spring, or I will go into business in Richmond in the office if terms will suit. I can best tell when the time comes.

Myself—I dress fashionable, wear a white hat, blue cloth coat with metal buttons, and other garments as may best suit the time or my circumstances. I am out of debt, and have Benjamin Lundie's and Thomas Hoge's notes to the amount of \$130

which I never expect to get, and I have about thirty dollars' worth of property in Wayne county, besides my clothes, and eighty acres of land adjoining E. Swain, Jr., on one side and E. Swain, Sr., on the other, for which I have the certificate of purchase (though I had like to have lost it this way. I sent \$100 United States paper to Cincinnati by a man to purchase it. He went to the office and made the purchase in the day, and at night was at the auction sale where a pickpocket crowded in and got the pocketbook out of his pocket, containing four dollars in money and all his papers, my certificate with the rest. But he went to the office again, made oath to it and got another, providing that the last one shall draw the patent.)

(Signed) ISAIAH OSBORN.

THE WORK FAMILY.

Jeffersonville Evening News, September 4, 1905.

THE following communication received from Mrs. Sallie Work Culp, a descendant of the John Work who built the famous Tunnel Mill near Charlestown, speaks for itself and corrects some inaccuracies in a former account in the *News and Democrat* which was written in view of the approaching Work celebration which will be held at the Old Settlers' meeting this week. Mrs. Culp writes as follows from Collins, Mo.:

Your paper of August 11 contained an article about the builder of Tunnel Mills near Charlestown, Ind. Some inaccuracies occurred in the issue. Since leaving the State in 1871 the writer has several times been tempted to take a pen in defense of a worthy grandfather who has been brought before the public in recent years under so many different names. If you will publish this account you will confer favor and assist in setting the matter at rest.

The records of the county show in whom the title to Tunnel Mills land was vested. John Work, builder of those mills—son of John Work and Anna Reid Work—was born in Lancaster county, Pennsylvania, December 9, 1760. He married Sarah Jackson, of Uniontown, Penn., 1786. He bought and settled on a large tract

of land lying along Fourteen Mile creek, Indiana, more than one hundred years ago. Shortly afterward he found it necessary to build a fort for protection from the Indians, into which the few settlers of the country often rushed in time of danger, spending one entire year there, tending a crop in common on lands adjacent to the fort. The writer has often listened with keen interest to stirring accounts of those days. A portion of the wall of the fort was still visible in 1887, and no doubt is to-day.

The industries established by John Work were many—three grain mills, several sawmills, salt works, general store, etc. His first mill stood near where was afterward placed the family burying ground, but wishing for greater power he conceived the idea of carrying the water through the hill, thus securing the desired fall. Accordingly he pierced a hill of solid rock, placing two men at each end, the space being too narrow for more with the clumsy tools of that day. His perfect knowledge of surveying enabled him to direct the course himself.

Following is the modest account of that work copied from the diary of said John Work: "Commenced blasting through the hill January 14, 1814. Completed same April 14, 1816. Blasting done by Samuel Rose. Cost of said tunnel, \$3,333.33 $\frac{1}{3}$," which is equal to \$20,000 to-day. He was a man of sterling integrity and died in 1830. His body lies under the large square tomb at his old home.

John Work had four daughters and two sons. His daughters were Mrs. Rebecca Faris, Mrs. Elizabeth Hutchings, Mrs. Anna Reid and Mrs. Sarah Shannon. His sons were Robert and John. Robert died in early manhood; John succeeded to the property. The latter was the father of William Work, for many years connected with the Jeffersonville penitentiary, who died at Bedford, Ark.; Robert Work, who died near the old home; John Work, a newspaper man, who died at Central City, Col., and Sallie Work, who married William Culp (now a retired lumber merchant), at Collins, Mo. William Work left two children, Mrs. Sunshine Warren, of Sedalia Mo., and Dick Work, sporting editor of the *St. Louis World*, of St. Louis. Dick Work is the only male descendant of the builder of the Tunnel Mills now living who bears the family name.

MRS. SALLIE WORK CULP.

NATURAL GAS IN INDIANA.

AN EXPLOITED RESOURCE.

BY MARGARET WYNN.

[A paper prepared for a history seminar in Butler College, June, 1906.]

NATURAL gas was used in the United States as early as 1821. In that year the little town of Fredonia, in New York, used it for illuminating. In 1841 the gas was utilized at the salt wells of the Kenawha valley, West Virginia. The rudest system was put in and the gas was employed only in boiling brine. About two years later, in 1843, the people evidently awoke to the advantages of gas as a fuel, for they put down a one-thousand-foot well which produced high-pressure gas—the first of its kind on record.

At least two instances are known of gas being discovered comparatively early in Indiana. The first mention is that of a well at Francisville, in Pulaski county, put down during the oil excitement of 1865. The drillers failed to find oil and were bothered by a considerable flow of highly inflammable gas. As the uses of gas were not then known, the well was abandoned and continued to flow gas and water till 1888, when it was plugged. The Eaton well, bored in 1876, at a depth of six hundred feet yielded a flame two feet high. As the company was exploring for coal, and gas was not supposed to have any value, no attention was paid to it. Some years later, after the discovery at Findlay, Ohio, the people became interested, remembering the incident of the coal explorers. The well was drilled deeper and at nine hundred and twenty-two feet gas came. The discovery occasioned no little excitement. The well was fitted with four pipes, two on each end of a T. A flame about ten feet high arose from each. The light was seen from Muncie, twelve miles south. It was said that the heat could be felt sixty feet away. The odor of the gas was reported as not unpleasant. The same report concluded by announcing that "the work of laying mains and fitting houses will soon be commenced and this

enormous waste be utilized. One fact this well has settled, at least, namely, that the Ohio gas field reaches into Indiana." The last statement proved wrong, for there was a strip of counties along the eastern boundary of the State that proved barren.

Three great gas fields were developed in the United States before the close of the last century. The first, that of Pennsylvania, dates from the beginning of oil drilling in 1859. At first the gas from the oil wells was allowed to escape, since it was considered of no value. Later it was piped to a safe distance and burned. It was not till about 1880 that it was used extensively as a fuel. In 1883 it was piped to Pittsburg.

In 1884 gas was discovered at Findlay, Ohio. The pressure was very strong; the supply appeared inexhaustible. Manufacturers flocked to the field. The wildest excitement prevailed. Industries grew apace. Men grew wealthy. Cities grew from tiny villages. Then the gas began to fail. Owners of factories looked about for new sites.

Just at this time gas in Indiana became assured. In the report of the State Geologist for 1881, is recorded an account of a well in Fountain county which aroused the first serious interest in Indiana natural gas. "In May a boring was made for water. At something over a hundred feet a strong flow of inflammable gas took place, which continued up to the time of this report, November 10. The gas burned with a pale yellow flame and intense heat, and has no odor either in burning or before. It is evidently carbide of hydrogen or the fire damp of the miners. So far as we know it is a rare occurrence, and may be economized for lighting and heating purposes." By 1883 a number of wells had yielded a flow of gas which was utilized in a small way for concentrating brine and driving engines, as well as for illuminating purposes. The first high-pressure flow was discovered at Portland, in Jay county, March 14, 1886. In the following September the Kokomo Natural Gas and Oil Company began drilling. After thirty-one days of drilling, gas was struck one evening after eight o'clock. They continued drilling. The news spread rapidly. In the wildest excitement people rushed to see the wonder. By noon of the next day the pressure was strong enough to hurl bits of pebbles and rock high in the air. Then there was an explosion. The drill crashed to the bottom of the

well, crushing the thin shell floor. The puncture resulted in a rush of artesian water which did not affect the gas. At the time of the report, a month after the blowing of the well, the company was using the gas under its boilers, the city of Kokomo was laying mains and many residences were being fitted for gas. An item in the *Kokomo Dispatch* says: "Three stoves and a grate, furnished with gas, have been on exhibition in the store of the Armstrong-Landon Company the past week. The temperature is unvarying. A genial warmth pervades the remotest corners of the vast room, while the entire absence of smoke, dirt and ashes is favorably commented on. Four companies for laying mains are already organized and many are prospective." Late in the same fall, 1886, several strong wells were bored at Muncie. Immediately mains were laid and citizens were urged to use gas, since, the company said, "by a simple, cheap arrangement in the shape of a burner, any heating or cooking stove can be adapted to its use."

In less than two years the Indiana gas field was in its prime. Seventeen counties in the northeastern part of the State, comprising five thousand square miles, produced gas in commercial quantities. Speculation ran rife; real estate in the favored district jumped to unreasonable figures; new gas companies were organized every day; wells were put down by the dozen. Cities and towns were piped for the fuel. The failure of gas in Ohio caused the manufacturers to look for a new site. They began to flock to Indiana. They passed into towns whose streets were arched with hundreds of gas torches to welcome the new capitalists. Up till then this had been a region of farms and small towns; it now became the seat of prosperous cities. Wealth increased with astonishing rapidity. The gas belt was entering the era of its greatest prosperity.

The gas field of Indiana was much larger than that of any other gas-producing State. The field in Pennsylvania and Ohio comprised only a few hundred square miles. A further advantage that the Indiana field possessed was that it was practically continuous. Wherever the drill penetrated into Trenton rock within the limits a flow of gas in paying quantities was expected. The field was divided into three zones. The outer one, comparatively narrow, produced the weakest flow. The next

zone produced stronger. The center of the field, about Madison county, was surrounded by the strongest district. When gas began to fail, ten or twelve years after its discovery, the field narrowed down to some 2,500 square miles, centering around Madison county. Even this area was many times that of any other gas belt known. It was larger than the fields of Pennsylvania and Ohio put together.

In the early days of natural gas much time and money were spent boring wells in parts of the State which proved barren. Trenton limestone is a universal formation over the State. Gas is always found in Trenton limestone, but it was found that in the Trenton rock certain textural and structural conditions were necessary to the storage of gas in sufficiently large quantities to give a flow. I quote from the report of State Gas Inspector Leach: "Trenton limestone is seldom a gas rock below sixty feet from the upper surface, the gas-producing stratum ranging from five to twenty feet in thickness. Observations and analyses of this rock show that its productiveness is due to its porosity. Whenever the Trenton limestone is a gas or oil rock, it is highly crystalline and of a sufficient porosity to contain large quantities of these hydro-carbons. * * * Outside this area conditions are different. There the limestone is nearly pure and non-porous." Thus the presence of gas depends on a structural change in the rock. When, by a geological change, the stone has become magnesian, the result is a porosity, offering storage for gas or oil. It is a question whether new fields may not be discovered in the future when this change takes place elsewhere. As a matter of fact, in most of the small gas fields in other States, notably Texas and California, the gas-producing stratum proves to be sandstone similar to that of Pennsylvania. Indiana and Ohio are the only gas-producing States where Trenton limestone is a universal formation. In either case the flow of gas varies according to the thickness of the gas-producing stratum. In Indiana the dolomitized Trenton limestone layer varies from five to twenty feet in thickness. The flow also depends on the degree of porosity.

Even if the necessary condition of porosity is fulfilled, if the stratum is much below sea level the gas is crowded out by salt water. This always proves true of strata more than one hun-

dred feet below sea level. Gas seeks the highest possible level, therefore the highest stratum contains most gas. In Indiana the highest point in the gas-bearing stratum is at Muncie, where it is sixty-five to seventy-five feet above tide, and the lowest at Kokomo, where it is eighty and ninety feet below.

The effect of natural gas on the economic development of the State was remarkable. In 1886, when gas was discovered, the gas belt was an agricultural district. Besides the customary flouring and sawmills, the factories were few and confined almost exclusively to the making of wooden wares. Indeed, the southern portion of the State had a greater proportion of factories than the northern. Soon, however, all classes of industries were represented. Most of the factories are well built, employing from three hundred to one thousand men. About the time the gas was beginning to fail in Ohio and Pennsylvania it was discovered in Indiana. The field was vast in extent, the supply strong. Capitalists were glad to move their interests to the new field. The loss of these factories to Ohio was great and in some cases a crisis resulted. By 1893 over \$300,000,000 had been invested in factories in Indiana, and more were constantly being erected. It was estimated that at that time not less than three hundred factories had been located and put in operation as a direct result of the development of natural gas. Many of them were very large, as the DePauw Plate-Glass Works at Alexandria, the largest of its kind in the world. In 1880 there were seven States manufacturing more glass than Indiana. In 1890 only three States stood above ours in this product. The value of glass products in 1880 was \$790,781. In 1892 it had risen to \$2,995,409.

The rapid increase of industry is shown by a few values taken from the reports of iron, steel and glass products: In 1880 the four glass factories of the State were valued at \$1,442,000, and employed 862 men. In 1890 there were twenty-one glass factories valued at \$3,556,563 and employing 3,089 men. The industry, in ten years, had nearly tripled in value, while the number of men employed was multiplied more than three and one-half. In the iron and steel industry there were in 1880 nine factories with a value of \$1,820,000, employing 1,740 men. In 1890 the number of factories had increased to thirteen, the value

to \$3,888,254. Two thousand six hundred and forty-four men received annual wages of \$1,215,702. From 1890 to 1895 the growth was still more rapid. January 1, 1895, the number of glass factories was fifty instead of twenty-one. They were valued at over \$5,000,000, and employed 7,000 men with an annual wage of \$3,000,000.

As late as 1895, in spite of the fact that the gas was beginning to diminish, companies constructed new pipe-lines and reinforced field pressure with compressing pumps. Factories continued to locate in the gas belt. Gas was especially valuable as a fuel in working upon glass, iron and steel, which require an even, intense heat. But though the fuel was the chief attraction which drew the factories to the State, there proved to be other advantages here. Proximity to the markets of the country and the splendid railroad facilities of the section make it one of the finest manufacturing centers of the country. The fact that the Indiana coal field is conveniently close to the gas belt, and the number of railroads connecting the two made it very easy to change from gas to coal. As early as 1894 several of the big factories used coal in times of low pressure. No new gas fields of importance opened up during the decline of the Indiana fields. Many of the manufacturers who had come on account of the gas preferred to use other fuel where they were rather than seek a new location. As a matter of fact, very few factories left the State when gas failed, and those which did were the smaller and less valuable plants. Practically no factories now depend on gas for a fuel. Therefore one may say that the great value brought to the State by gas remains after the gas itself is, commercially, a thing of the past.*

How much the development of natural gas added to the permanent wealth of the State is difficult to ascertain. In 1896, ten years after the discovery of gas, the wells, pipe-lines, pumping stations, etc., of natural gas companies were assessed for taxation at nearly \$5,500,000. The factory property alone brought in by gas was worth \$6,000,000. Since Madison county was the

*The fact that more factories did not leave Indiana when the gas which had attracted them here gave out, was also probably due in part to the general prosperity and heavy demand for their products during the years that the gas was giving out. This both made it possible for them to continue on the basis of a new and more expensive fuel, and at the same time added to the loss involved by moving.—*Editor*.

center of the gas area, a few statistics from its records will show the general increase of wealth. In 1887 the total assessed valuation of Madison county was \$9,837,595, with a tax levy of \$168,339. In 1895 the total value had increased to \$26,994,775, with a tax of \$397,569. This shows a total increase of wealth in eight years of \$17,157,180, or, exclusive of gas property or factories, \$13,917,180. The total value of taxable property in Delaware county in 1886 was \$9,590,185. In 1899 it was \$21,632,900. Taxes were levied in Grant county in 1886 on a valuation of \$8,921,445. In 1899 this had risen to \$23,000,000.

As an estimate of the cash value of natural gas itself, as a fuel, in the whole United States during the seven years when the Indiana field was at its best, I give the following table taken from "Mineral Resources of the United States," a volume published by the government in 1893. The basis of valuation is the amount of fuel displaced. Since the table begins with the years when gas in Ohio and Pennsylvania was on the decline, and gas in Indiana was being developed, the increase shown is almost wholly to be attributed to Indiana:

1886	1887	1888	1889
\$300,000	\$600,000	\$1,320,000	\$2,075,702
1890	1891	1892	1893
\$2,302,500	\$3,942,500	\$4,716,000	\$5,718,000

This shows an increase in value of \$5,418,000 in seven years.

Very early in the history of the field pipe-lines were laid to conduct gas to cities outside of the gas district. Early in 1888 a notice in the *Indianapolis Sun* announced that the Indianapolis Gas Company was ready to supply citizens with natural gas, mains having been laid in Washington street, Alabama street, Capitol avenue and Maryland street. Although a slight flow of gas was struck at Broad Ripple, the extreme edge of the gas field passes through the northeast corner of Marion county, consequently the city received her gas supply from the Muncie field. Perhaps the most important development in this direction was the establishment of pipe-lines from the Indiana gas fields to Chicago. In the last days of natural gas this absorbed a large part of the product of whole districts and give rise to interest-

ing legal questions, decided for the most part in favor of the companies controlling the lines.

The most salient feature of the history of natural gas in Indiana, however, is not the wealth that was obtained through its utilization, but the enormous waste which attended its discovery and its use. Exploitation of natural resources, such as this, means the impoverishment of these resources. If in the process they are fully utilized, so that an equivalent in wealth and comfort is returned to the people in possession, there can be no cause for regret. But in this instance such was not the case. An appallingly large amount of the gas taken out of the earth was utterly wasted, so that the State of Indiana to-day has not secured a gain at all commensurate with the value of the natural resource which has been destroyed forever.

When gas was discovered only a certain amount existed in the reservoirs of gas- and oil-bearing rocks. The generation of these products, at least in paying quantities, had been the work of ages. Even the most careful use of gas for the purposes to which it was applied would probably have exhausted the supply within an ordinary lifetime. But the end was hastened by the reckless extravagance and waste. In the first few years of gas development it was shown that over 100,000,000 cubic feet of the valuable fuel was wasted daily. Even at the low prices that obtained at this time this waste would amount to millions upon millions of dollars annually. All of this waste was the more reprehensible in that when gas was discovered in Indiana there had already been two great gas belts which had been developed and had failed. In view of this fact, the fatuity of those who thought that the gas supply was illimitable, and of those who wasted it or thought it of no value, is hard to understand.

The chief items of waste were carelessness or incompetency at the wells, wasteful methods of burning gas in the open, extravagant use of gas for domestic purposes due to the general prevalence of the contract instead of the meter system, and the failure of the State government to prevent abuses in the gas business. In the beginning, much of the waste was due to ignorance of methods of handling gas. When a well was blown the men were slow to cap it and many thousands of dollars' worth escaped

before the flow was confined. Moreover, wells were occasionally allowed to flow continuously as an advertisement. For the first three or four years an average day's flow from a strong well was worth nearly \$600. As early as 1888 it developed that the pressure was slowly diminishing. However, it was not at a rapid enough rate to produce immediate alarm. Extravagance and waste continued. In 1889 the average daily waste from uncapped wells alone was estimated to be 10,000,000 cubic feet.

Later, when oil wells were drilled near the gas field they often showed strong gas pressure as well as oil. If the gas could not be disposed of to some company it was deemed necessary either to allow it to escape or to close the well to protect the gas industry. The latter alternative was seldom taken except under compulsion. The first successful attempt to develop an oil field was near Alexandria, in Madison county, the very heart of the gas field. Oil operators flocked to see the "gushers." Excitement ran high. Companies were quickly organized. From April 23, 1897, to March, 1898, seventy-five wells were drilled for oil. Of these forty produced both gas and oil, thirty-three gas only, and only three were dry. The waste of gas was enormous. To prevent damage to property the gas was burned for eleven months. They were not prepared to handle gas and enough escaped before they were tubed to supply a large town. The oil field was only a few miles from Alexandria, and the citizens became alarmed at the gas waste. However, all measures to protect the gas industry at the expense of the oil industry were opposed. In 1898 the Supreme Court decided that the anti-waste law was constitutional and that an individual could stop the waste of gas by injunction. This, in some instances, closed the oil wells and stopped the waste of gas.

The flambeaux were another occasion of great waste. These open pipes with their great flame of gas shooting out and burning a hundred times as much gas as was necessary to secure the light wanted, were left going continually, not only in towns but in the country, and around gas wells and plants. They consumed, on an average, probably from 150 to 200 cubic feet of gas per hour. No one ever thought of turning them off when not needed. The waste can not be calculated. Farmers objected seriously to giving up the open torch. If they owned their well

they considered the gas their property, or they claimed the privilege of using the gas as they pleased under the terms of their lease.

Much gas was wasted in domestic consumption through ignorance. Gas, for perfect combustion, requires a mixture of air. Persons, especially in the country, were often found using from three to five pounds pressure, whereas a proper mixer required, at the utmost, five to ten ounces. This resulted in much waste. The gas passed through grates and stoves only partially consumed. From tables given by the State Geologist of Ohio, it was found that the greater the pressure in any sized mixer the greater number of cubic feet of gas is consumed with the same amount of air. It follows that the higher the pressure the greater the amount of gas passing through the mixer and the more imperfect the combustion. This was not only a waste, but the great quantity of gas allowed to escape unburned, in several instances resulted in suffocation and explosions.

All over the country the contract system of selling gas prevailed. By this system gas was sold, per stove or grate, from 75 cents to \$1.50 per month, according to size. Bills were paid quarterly or by the month. By this system one man could burn his stove day and night full blast for a month and only pay as much as his neighbor who had been away, leaving the gas turned off. The injustice of the system is apparent. Not until gas began to fail was the meter system introduced. This plan had been advocated by some for a long time, but the people were slow to adopt it, feeling that there was plenty of gas, or that the gas companies would put the meter rate so high that there would be no economy in it for the consumer. The idea of care in preventing waste never presented itself to the mass of consumers till the apparent failure made them apprehensive lest the supply should not last. A company's gas inspector often found gas burning full pressure and the windows up to let out the heat. People turned the gas up to a certain height and left it so indefinitely. It was possible to leave one's home for week at a time, keeping it at practically the same temperature as when occupied.* The cheapness of the fuel caused people to disregard

*Carelessness engendered by this practice, together with a greatly varying and uncertain pressure resulted, in the later days of the use of gas, in great losses by fire. After 1900 scores of houses were burned every year by a strong pressure coming on and overheating a stove or furnace at night or in the absence of the owner.—*Editor*.

its value. Often most of the heat went up the chimney through an open damper.

When the gas began to fail meters were put in at some points, but they were not so generally adopted as materially to check the waste. Many factories, owning their own wells, had used meters some time before the public consented to use them. Factory owners most interested in the supply were most anxious to adopt means to preserve it. But they were not able to effect much.

The laws of the State sought to regulate the use and prevent the waste of natural gas, and to protect from danger those who used it by making it the duty of the State Gas Supervisor to inspect pipe-lines, regulators, mixers, etc., from time to time. He also was to see that proper precautions were taken to insure the safety of those who used it or who operated wells. Many pipe-lines were condemned and caused to be relaid.

Perhaps the most interesting law passed by the General Assembly was the Flambeau Act of February 25, 1891. This law prohibited the burning of flambeaux or open torches, but allowed gas to be used in jumbo burners (enclosed in glass) which were to be turned off not later than 8 a. m. and lighted not earlier than 5 p. m. Violators were to be fined \$25 for first offense and not more than \$200 for second offense. This law was called forth by the profligate waste of gas in open torches. Many of the towns were lighted in this way. In several cities, by 1891, city electric lighting plants had been put in, but the gas torches burnt on in the glare of arc lights. On farms, also, gas torches often burned day and night in the farmer's yard or garden. Many of the farmers owned their wells and they resented the laws as curtailing their rights as citizens. They contended that natural gas was property and that they had a right to use it according to their discretion. On the other hand, the State claimed that the welfare and prosperity of the public overshadowed the desires or the good of the individual. Public good demanded that reasonable use only be made of gas. Since economy was necessary, the enforcing of the law to bring this about was only the legitimate exercise of the powers of the State. The question of the constitutionality of the law came up. For four years it was seldom enforced. Then in October, 1895, a

suit came up in Blackford county which decided the case. The State Supervisor of Gas brought suit to enforce the law. It was carried to the Supreme Court which upheld the constitutionality of the law, and after that there was little trouble in enforcing it.

A law passed in March, 1891, made it unlawful for any person, in any manner whatever, to change, alter or extend any service-pipe or attachment of any kind, or connection through which natural or artificial gas was furnished from the mains, without permission from the owner. It was unlawful, also, to enlarge the orifice of mixers or to use gas for heating without mixers; for any person, unless employed by the company concerned, to set on fire any gas escaping from wells, broken or leaking mains, or to interfere in any way with appliances.

This law was necessary for two reasons. The wanton tapping of the Broad Ripple mains, apparently with malicious intent, is an instance of one thing that had to be provided against. It was a very cold period, and before the break could be repaired much suffering from cold was reported. The offenders, in this case, were not found. Again, that part of this act referring to lighting gas escaping from a leak, or broken pipe, was necessary for the safety of the public. Many of the mains in the early history of gas had been carelessly laid by inexperienced workmen. A citizen smelled escaping gas. He took his match and went to hunt for the leak. It was possible that a dangerous and costly explosion would follow. The clause forbidding the enlargement of the orifices of mixers was gravely disregarded as early as 1895. By 1900 it would have been practically impossible to find an unbored mixer in Indianapolis and other cities.

The legislature sometimes showed great lack of insight into gas conditions, and passed very faulty laws. Probably the best example of this is the Act of March 4, 1893, regarding the plugging of abandoned wells. This law provided for plugging as follows: "If well has been shot there shall be placed in the bottom of the well a plug of pine wood of a diameter within one-half inch of that of the well; to extend at least three feet above the salt water level. The plug shall be rammed down. After ramming, the hole shall be filled with broken stone or sand and rammed to a point four feet above Trenton rock. On

top of this shall be placed another plug at least five feet long, which shall also be rammed down. If not shot the well shall be filled with sand, stone or dry cement to a point four feet above the gas-bearing rock. Above this shall be placed a six-foot plug which shall be rammed. The casing of the well shall be removed and a cast-iron ball eight inches in diameter cast in the hole and rammed by the driller, after which not less than ten foot of sand shall be placed on top." Penalty for violation was \$200, and \$200 for each day of continued violation for ten days. This would seem at first sight an ample enactment, providing in detail an exact method of doing the work which, if followed, would hermetically seal any outlet. Unfortunately, however, it was weak at one point—it did not provide for any witness when the work was being done. When it had been done the expense of ascertaining whether the law had been complied with was prohibitive. As a consequence, in the years between 1895 and 1900, when many wells were abandoned, comparatively few were plugged according to the law.

Another act of the General Assembly which caused much trouble was that which prohibited the transportation of gas through pipes at more than 300 pounds pressure per square inch; and the use of any device for pumping or any artificial means that should have the effect of increasing the natural flow of the gas from any well or of increasing or maintaining the flow of gas through pipes used for conveying it. At this time a large quantity of gas was piped to Chicago. (This, by the way, was in violation of a law forbidding the piping of gas to any point without the State. The Supreme Court twice declared this law unconstitutional and it was not enforced.) A test case was made of the Jamison suit against the Indiana Natural Gas Company. A series of tests was made by the State Gas Supervisor who found the pressure in the Chicago line in no instance to be more than 295 pounds. The Supreme Court held that pressure might be applied, provided it did not exceed 300 pounds per square inch. This decision, though perhaps hastening the failure of gas, lengthened the period of its practical application in industry and domestic consumption several years, for when gas began to fail more rapidly compressing stations were put in to assist the flow.

About 1890 the supply of gas began to go down rapidly. In the hard winter of 1892-'93 the supply fell so far short that much suffering resulted. Manufactories were compelled to shut down on account of deficient gas supply. By 1893 wells were being abandoned every month. In order still to supply their patrons, the gas companies (Chicago monopolized as much territory as possible) drilled wells more and more remote, so that the field was soon developed to the uttermost. By 1893 the field pressure had been reduced from 320 to 240 pounds, and pumping stations were being placed at intervals to reinforce pipe-line pressure. In 1894 State Gas Supervisor Jordon strongly recommended that the use of meters be enforced by law. He said the domestic consumption was 50 per cent. greater than necessary. This would be remedied by meter. In the same report he advised the use of some coarser fuel in tile or rolling mills and in the melting furnaces of glass factories.

Salt water, which is universally present under all gas and oil territory, was the most difficult and dangerous element with which the natural gas industry had to deal. As the gas diminished the salt water horizon rose toward the highest point in the reservoir till it displaced the gas; or, if the draught was great, it rose higher and higher until it sealed what gas was left securely in the rocks. The advance of salt water over the field marked the coming of the end of the gas wells. It appeared first in the early history of the field on the west side and sometimes overcame wells of 260 pounds pressure. It advanced slowly but surely, till by 1898-'99 few wells were free from water. In November, 1897, only 50 per cent. of the wells in the Madison county district showed water. In November, 1898, only four out of thirty-six did not show the presence of water. This illustrates the rapid rise of the salt water level when the gas had once begun to fail. Some wells were drowned out and abandoned at 250 pounds pressure. The seriousness of this foe is realized when one finds that at that period a well paid at 90 pounds, yet many had to be abandoned at 175 pounds. Some wells were redeemed by the inserting of pipes of a size small enough to enable the gas to raise the water. The gas and water were then separated automatically. The pressure sank rapidly from the first. The initial rock pressure was 325 pounds. Jan-

uary, 1888, it was reduced to 230; January, 1901, to 115; 1902, to about 80.

The use of gas had to be gradually abandoned from 1900 on. In the winter of 1905-'06 the supply fell far short at Muncie, which is nearly in the heart of the district. Three years ago the pipe-lines refused to supply gas longer. The "gas field" or "belt" is now history. Natural gas, though still used in places, as a commercial factor is a thing of the past.

INDIAN LANGUAGES.

THE resolution passed at the last meeting of the Indiana Historical Society, given below, should receive the support of all who are interested in the history of the former Northwestern Territory. Mr. Jacob P. Dunn has collected much information about the meaning of Indian names and has urged for some time that concerted action be taken for the preservation of the knowledge still remaining in this interesting field. It is to be hoped that through the national Bureau of Ethnology a larger work than it is possible for individuals to do may be brought about.

The resolution referred to is as follows:

WHEREAS, The Indian tribes that formerly inhabited the Ohio Valley have been widely scattered, and there is danger that their languages may be lost through the younger generation's adopting the English language, and,

WHEREAS, There is no adequate source of information now available in print even as to the meaning of the names of lakes and streams left to us by the Miamis, Pottawattamies, Shawnees and other tribes,

Resolved, That the national Bureau of Ethnology be requested to collect and publish such information as to these languages as can now be obtained, and especially that of the great Miami nation, including the Weas, Piankeshaws, Peorias, Kaskaskias and other tribes who occupied the greater part of Indiana and Illinois;

Resolved, That our Senators and Representatives in Congress be requested to use their influence to secure this result, and to

obtain appropriations for the expense thereof, if such appropriations are needed;

Resolved, further, That these resolutions be communicated to the other historical societies of the States formed from the Northwestern Territory, with a request that they take a similar action.

AN EARLY TRADES UNION.

AT a meeting of the majority of the Tailors of the Burrough of Vincennes, held in the shop of Jacob Shull & Francis Cross, on the 18th day of May, 1816, for the purpose of establishing a regular price for work done in their line of business in the future; and after some deliberation established the following prices, to-wit:

For making—	Dol. Cts.
A gentleman's great coat	6
A cloak	3
A gentleman's dress coat	5
A frock coat.....	5
A surtout	5 50
A waistcoat	2
Pantaloons	2
Hussars	2 75
Sharrivallies.....	3 50
Short Breeches	2 50
Round-about.....	2 50
Dragoon's coat.....	5

Summer Clothing.—Gingham or Cotton, for making coat, \$4.50. Flannel flips on foxing pantaloons, \$1. Lady's coat, from four dollars to six dollars and fifty cents.

Minor's Clothing.—Over ten and under 16 years of age, half price.

For cutting out a coat, \$1. Pantaloons or vests, 37½c.

H. RUBLE,
HUGH KELLY,
JACOB SCHULL,
FRANCIS CROSS.

May 23, 1816.

INDIANA QUARTERLY MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

Indiana State Library, Indianapolis

Published by the Indiana Historical Society

CHRISTOPHER B. COLEMAN, *Editor*

EDITORIAL.

Mr. George S. Cottman, after carrying on for three years almost unaided the work and the responsibility necessary in starting and maintaining the Indiana Quarterly Magazine of History, has been compelled this month on account of absence from the State to turn the magazine over to other hands. The present number, however, has been gotten out almost entirely by him and from material which he had collected. It was felt by members of the Indiana Historical Society that the magazine which Mr. Cottman had started was of too great importance and that the momentum which it had accumulated through his efforts was too hardly won to be lost through his absence. With this support, and at the request of Mr. Cottman, the present editor has undertaken the task of editing the magazine for the current year. He bespeaks the cooperation of all who are interested in Indiana and local history. All communications should be addressed to the Indiana Quarterly Magazine of History, Indiana State Library, Indianapolis.

The American Historical Association will hold its so-called "western" annual meeting in the last days of December, 1910. The annual meeting is held west of the Alleghany mountains once every three years, the last one having been at Madison, Wis., December 27-31, 1907. A movement has been started to secure the next western meeting for Indianapolis. Invitations have been extended by the Historical Section of the State Teachers' Association, the Indiana Historical Society and the Commercial Club of Indianapolis. Other organizations will undoubtedly join in the movement. The executive committee of the American Historical Society decides upon the place of this meeting before the next annual meeting of the Association at Richmond, De-

cember 27, 1908. It is desirable that as many Indiana organizations and societies as possible join in the invitation before that time.

The advantages that would accrue to Indiana, in the impetus toward historical study, from the presence in the capital city of several hundred persons interested in the study and teaching of history, including nearly all the best known historians of the country, need no emphasis. The American Historical Association now has a membership of more than 2,500, and its magazine, "The American Historical Review," is universally recognized as the most important publication of its kind in America. The meeting of this association usually brings with it also the annual meetings of the American Economic and Political Science Association, the American Sociological Society, and the American Association for Labor Legislation. The papers and discussion in all of these organizations engage the ablest men of the country.

Indianapolis has all the necessary facilities for such meetings; accessibility by numerous railroads, hotel and public hall accommodations, and a large constituency interested in the subject-matter of the meetings. There is no reason why we should not have these conventions. To this end it is necessary to have the cooperation of all societies interested, and desirable to have a largely increased membership from Indiana in these national organizations. Inquiries and communications on the subject may be sent to the editor of this magazine.

CONCERNING THE BELT ROAD.

The following letter from Mr. W. H. Ragan, of Washington City, to Mr. George S. Cottman, needs no introduction:

"DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE,
"WASHINGTON, D. C., December 30, 1907.

"I have been very much interested in reading the December number of your Magazine of History, for which I sincerely thank you. Early history of railroading in Indiana, as told by you, is valuable history and should be cherished by all native Hoosiers, who should feel great pride in what the railroads have so well helped to accomplish.

"While at home recently I was impressed with the great results growing out of the Belt Railway and could only conjecture what might have been had that great enterprise failed. Certainly much of the through business, especially the shipping of live stock, would have avoided Indianapolis by finding other routes. I think, in that event, Indianapolis would have been a good and prosperous city, but it must have fallen far short of its present proportions, and, to a greater or less extent, would the whole of central Indiana have suffered. One of the most inexplicable things connected with my public career is that both the Marion county Senators, in the session of 1877, should have bitterly opposed the legislation that was necessary in the project of its construction.

"Speaking of railroads reminds me of a prediction that was made in my hearing almost a third of a century ago, which is now almost verified. While traveling in company with the late Charles R. Peddle, then the master machinist of the Vandalia railroad, and while passing the neglected and unused bed of an old canal, I asked if the railroad was ever to be superseded by some other and better method of transit, as the canal had been by the railroad? He said not in its essential principles—that the plan of the track and of the carriages moving on the track would never be essentially changed, but the motor was to be different. I asked in what way, to which he said electricity would supersede steam. At that time there was not an electric motor other than, possibly, mere toys, in existence. Now, it would appear that his prediction is almost a reality.

"Respectfully,

W. H. RAGAN."

Referring to an error inserted by the editor into an old Henry Ward Beecher letter concerning Indianapolis, which Mr. Ragan had supplied for the last number of this magazine, he says:

"By the way, I regret that you said in brackets [county fair].* It was a fair held by the Indiana Horticultural Society in October, 1842. The one prize that was awarded was to my father—a set of silver teaspoons, and I have two of them, inscribed 'Premium 1842. I. H. S.' (Indiana Horticultural Society)."

*This occurs on page 189 (1907.)—*Editor*.

WAYNE COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

The regular meeting of this society was held at the Wayne county court-house in Richmond, Saturday afternoon, February 29. The purchase of fire-proof cases for keeping historical collections, and the receipt of several old papers and other articles from the Starr family were reported. The program included, among other numbers, a short paper upon the history of New Garden township, written by Francis W. Thomas, and read by Professor Hodgkin, "Pioneer Reminiscences," by Hannah Symons, and an account of the "Founding of the School at Economy by a Volunteer Association," contributed by Arthur Osborne, of Spiceland, and read by Eli Jay. The following officers were elected: President, Professor C. W. Hodgkin; secretary, Professor W. O. Wissler; vice-president, B. F. Wissler; treasurer, Harry E. Penny; advisory members, Eli Jay, Prof. Lee Ault, Cambridge City, and Mrs. Helen V. Austin, Center-ville.

DECEASED—GENERAL JOHN COBURN.

January 28, 1908.

General Coburn was, at the time of his death, first vice-president of the Indiana Historical Society. For many years he was active in serving the interests of the study of Indiana history. In the old days when the books and records of the society were carelessly stored in the Marion county court-house, they were by his personal direction probably saved from destruction and by him put in a safe place of deposit. General Coburn contributed to the publications of the Indiana Historical Society an article in collaboration with Judge Horace P. Biddle upon the "Life and Services of John B. Dillon." He also wrote an article upon the Supreme Court of Indiana for the *Bench and Bar*.

General Coburn was a maker of history as well as a student of it. Born in Indianapolis, October 27, 1825, he was for many years prominent, not only in the city, but in the State at large. He served in the Civil War with distinction. He was Judge of the Circuit Court for Marion and Hendricks counties 1865-'67, and Representative in Congress from 1867 to 1875. For some time he had been one of the oldest, if not the oldest, resident of Indianapolis born in the city.

NOTES

NOTES.

THE INDIANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

The annual meeting of the Indiana Historical Society was held at the Union Trust Building in Indianapolis on the afternoon of Thursday, December 26.

The president, Judge D. W. Howe, made a detailed statement of the work of the society for the past year.

The executive committee reported the publication during the year of

Vol. 4, No. 2. "The Word Hoosier," by Jacob Piatt Dunn.

Vol. 4, No. 3. "William Henry Harrison's Administration of Indiana Territory," by Prof. Homer J. Webster.

The treasurer reported —

Funds invested.....	\$3,000 00
Cash on hand	204 52
	<hr/>
Total.....	\$3,204 52

Charles W. Moores and Eliza G. Browning were appointed a committee on the publication of the names of Revolutionary pensioners who had lived in Indiana.

New members were elected as follows: Charles Pingpank, Murat H. Hopkins and Augustus L. Mason, all of Indianapolis.

Also honorary members as follows: Benjamin S. Parker, of New Castle, and Prof. Homer J. Webster, of Alliance, Ohio.

A resolution was adopted to invite the American Historical Association to meet in Indianapolis in 1910.

A resolution, printed in full on page 45, urging the collection and publication of information as to the Indian languages formerly spoken in this part of the country was passed and elicited the hearty endorsement of all who discussed it.

The following officers for the ensuing year were elected: President, Judge D. W. Howe; first vice-president, Gen. John Coburn; second vice-president, Capt. W. E. English; third vice-president, Bishop Denis O'Donaghue; treasurer, Charles E. Coffin; recording secretary, J. P. Dunn; corresponding secretary, George S. Cottman; executive committee, John H. Hol-

liday, A. C. Harris, Charles W. Moores, Charles Martindale and J. P. Dunn.

HISTORICAL ADDRESSES.

Professor H. Morse Stephens, of the University of California, delivered three lectures in Indianapolis January 6, 7 and 8, under the auspices of the Indianapolis Public Schools, upon the subjects, "The Romans in Briton; the Value of Historical Fiction in the Teaching of History, as Illustrated in Kipling's Puck of Pook's Hill," "A Change in the Historical Perspective in Modern European History" and "The Napoleonic Period versus the Life of Napoleon; the Modern Point of View."

Professor Albert Bushnell Hart, of Harvard University, delivered two lectures in Indianapolis February 5 and 6, upon "The Real South" and "The Historical Geography of the United States."

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON'S ADMINISTRATION OF INDIANA TERRITORY.

The Indiana Historical Society has issued as No. 3 of Vol. IV of its publications, "William Henry Harrison's Administration of Indiana Territory," by Prof. Homer J. Webster, of Alliance, Ohio. It covers 120 pages, and is the most complete account of this period in Indiana that has been published. Of course, such a study necessarily includes a large amount of matter that is already accessible elsewhere, though in this case it is somewhat scattered in its other forms; but Professor Webster has done a large amount of original research and has added materially to the available information on this subject. One of the most interesting of his discoveries is the identity of the writer of the "Letters of Decius," and the history of that celebrated attack on General Harrison, which was the most famous political pamphlet of the Territory. Professor Webster discloses the fact that they were written by Isaac Darneille, and also brings out their satisfactory refutation. The publication is of the same style as the preceding publications of the society, and can be obtained of The Bobbs-Merrill Co. JACOB PIATT DUNN.

"A PIONEER HISTORY OF INDIANA."

The most noteworthy contribution that has been made to the early history of southern Indiana is a volume of 632 pages, with the above title, the author and publisher of which is Col. William M. Cockrum, of Oakland City. There have been so many worthless Indiana books of historical pretensions that one takes up a new one in a skeptical and critical spirit. But in the instance under consideration the reader is agreeably surprised, for the amount of matter presented that is new to our records, and that has all the evidences of authenticity, calls for comment.

Colonel Cockrum, it seems, has been patiently gathering in this material from private sources for fifty years or more, and his harvest is most interesting. There are narrations of adventure with the red man, and pictures of life and manners among the very earliest pioneers, that are among the best accounts of this kind that we have. There are, too, not a few documents that are a real addition to our archives, most notable of these, perhaps, being a series of orders or letters of instruction from Governor William Henry Harrison to William Hargrave, a captain of rangers, in 1807. Those letters are decidedly informative. In the first place, the fact that there was a ranger service guarding our frontier from Vincennes to Lawrenceburg as early as 1807, is one of which none of our historians seem heretofore to have been aware. John B. Dillon, our closest student of Indian affairs at that period, makes no mention of it whatever, though he deals somewhat with the similar service that was established after the Pigeon Roost massacre in 1813. Of the letters there are about twenty-five which were found in Captain Hargrave's desk at his death in 1843. They further reveal glimpses of frontier conditions at that time and show as no other records do how, even that early, there was a ferment and a friction which were linked to the pivotal battle of Tippecanoe four years later. Moreover, they reflect the characters of both Governor Harrison and Secretary Gibson in a light that a biographer of these men could not afford to miss.

Lack of space forbids the review that this book should have, and about all that we can attempt here is to convey the impression that it is, as we have said, a distinct addition to our too

meager historical literature, and that it should have a place in every collection of this character. It can be secured for \$1.75 by addressing the author, Col. William M. Cockrum, Oakland City, Ind.

GEORGE S. COTTMAN.

A series of pamphlets entitled Civic Studies of Indianapolis is announced, to be published by The Bobbs-Merrill Co. under the auspices of the Commercial Club and the School Board of Indianapolis. The first number appeared December, 1907; Pioneer Indianapolis, by Ida Stearns Stickney. It is an excellent sketch with four illustrations, compiled from older works, covering the opening of central Indiana to the whites and the development of Indianapolis down to about 1847. While intended chiefly for use in the schools, it is interesting and should be of general use as well. A brief index facilitates reference to it. 68 pp.

THE INDIANA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

VOL. IV

JUNE, 1908

No. 2

INDIANA ARCHIVES AND HISTORY.

BY HARLOW LINDLEY,

Director Department of Indiana Archives and History, Indiana State Library.

THE subject of history is constantly receiving more attention by the masses of the people in the United States. This interest is being shown in a variety of ways. The older States of the Union have for years provided for the preservation of their history, and many of the western States have, from their early years, made some such provision. Indiana is far behind many of the States of the Mississippi valley in this regard, but a public sentiment is being aroused which may yet yield valuable results for the State before all the original materials have been lost through accident or ignorance. There has been a sad neglect of the official records and publications in years past, and through the various movements of the records in connection with the moving and rebuilding of the Capitol much valuable material has been irrevocably lost. There has never been a suitable place for the preservation and arrangement of the archives of the State not in daily use, and no attempt has been made to keep the records of the State not in active use in a systematic way.

The neglect has not been the fault of the officials, for they could not know of the older records of the offices and have not had time to concern themselves with those records not in daily use.

In the March, 1906, meeting of the State Library Board, at the suggestion and upon the recommendation of Mr. W. E. Henry, then State Librarian, the board approved of the establishment of a Department of Archives and History, as a department of the State Library, with a director to have charge of the

work. The work of this department was not actively begun until the summer of 1907. It was pursued actively for ten weeks. As the work progresses it will more and more clearly define its own scope, but from the first the following lines suggest themselves: To collect manuscript materials, official and non-official, that bear upon any phase of the history of the State. This work will consist of discovering and organizing all documents of historical value that are now held by the various State offices and which are of no value to the department in its current work. Such documents should be collected and deposited in the State Library, but if for any reason they may not be brought from their present locations, the State Library should contain at least an index record of what they are and where they may be found by investigators, and if possible some note as to their peculiar value and trustworthiness.

This branch of the work will also include the discovery of documentary material, such as old letters, etc., still among the people, and to collect these if possible, and if they can not be secured by the State, then such an index record should be found in the Library as will indicate their nature, location and value.

The second phase of the work following the discovery, collecting and organizing will be arranging, binding and very fully indexing and cataloguing the material collected. This work is easily outlined as a policy, but will be very difficult and exacting in the process.

The additional kindred line that should be carried with the two above outlined is the making for the Library such an index record as may be valuable to indicate what historical materials especially bearing upon our State are already collected and held by other libraries, but which we can not hope to secure. For example, the Congressional Library and the Wisconsin Historical Society Library, as well as many others, possess much material which in a way belongs to Indiana, but which we can never obtain. We must, however, possess a record of what it is and where it may be found when wanted.

While this synopsis gives a brief general statement of the work planned for the new division, it must not be understood from this that the State Library has done little or nothing to

collect and organize the materials of our State's history! Quite the contrary is true. The Library for many years, through several administrations, has sustained what is called an Indiana Section, to which has been added as rapidly as discovered and consistent with very meager funds, all printed material that throws light on Indiana history, and this collection of printed matter is doubtless the best to be found anywhere in the country. The Library has, however, not formerly been able to make any thoroughly organized systematic effort in the line of the manuscript and widely scattered materials.

With these facts in mind, it was the plan of the writer, as director of the department, to give some time during the summer of 1907 to these records, although it seemed wiser for the present to look out for materials over the State which were not so secure as those already in the State House.

Among the departments of the State, the records most completely examined were those of the Clerk of the Supreme Court. It was found that this office contains the Complete Records of the Territorial Court of Indiana from its establishment in 1801 until the establishment of the State government in 1816. Beginning with 1817 there are two series of Records of the State Supreme Court—the "Order Book" and "Record Book." These records are complete from 1817 to date.

The other records of this department were classified and a report filed in the Indiana State Library.

The Department of State contains a mine of historical matter. The investigation of this department has not been completed, but a great deal of valuable historical data has been secured, among which is the following:

Ordinance of the Representatives of the People of the Territory of Indiana in convention met at Corydon, Monday, June 10th, 1816, for the formation of the Constitution for the State of Indiana, and signed June 29th, 1816, together with the State Constitution of 1816.

Constitution of the State of Indiana, 1851, parchment copy with signatures of the officers of and the delegates to the Constitutional Convention.

Journal of the House of Representatives of the Indiana Territory, begun and held in the town of Corydon, Monday, August 15th, 1814, and continuing the journal to Friday, December 27th, 1816.

Report of the Commission in behalf of the State of Indiana duly appointed by the General Assembly of said State to select and locate a site for the permanent seat of government, dated June 7th, 1820. Nine signers, attested to by signature of the clerk. The report is lying loose in the back of the book containing the Constitution of 1816.

Journal of the Proceedings of the Executive Government of Indiana Territory, Vincennes, July 4th, 1800, 81 pages, followed by Executive proceedings under the government of the State of Indiana, November 7th, 1816-November 2d, 1823.

Journal of the House of Representatives of Indiana Territory, begun and held at the town of Vincennes, Monday, February 1st, 1813, up to and including March 12th, 1813.

In the back of this volume is a record of Executive Proceedings November 9th, 1822-January 10th, 1823.

Other departments of the State government will be examined likewise in the future for historical data.

Outside of the State departments the following work has been accomplished:

1. As the result of an agreement between the Indiana Historical Society and the Indiana State Library, the materials of the former were carefully examined, and fifty bound volumes and a large collection of pamphlets and periodicals of historical interest not in the State Library were added to the Library.

2. Several visits have been made to individuals possessing private collections in Indianapolis, and much valuable data has been thus gained.

3. Outside of Indianapolis two trips of two weeks' duration each have been made—one through the northern and one through the southern part of the State.

The northern trip included Goshen, Elkhart, South Bend, Notre Dame, Laporte and Logansport, and the southern trip in-

cluded Terre Haute, Vincennes, Paoli, Corydon, New Albany, Jeffersonville and Louisville, Ky.

In each of these places valuable data were secured and individuals were personally interested in the work. This has furnished a basis for a series of correspondents in each neighborhood which may prove of much assistance to the department in the future.

4. An important step in the preservation of local history has been made by securing regularly for the Library a large number of local newspapers, representing the various sections and counties of the State. The local newspaper furnishes the means of preserving local history in a way which can not be otherwise accomplished, and when these files are made easily and permanently available by binding, the State has secured a storehouse of information of great value.

It will be the purpose of the Department to cooperate with local historical societies over the State in securing local historical material for public use. The activities of the department can not be limited to one institution. It is only by persevering effort and through cooperation carefully administered that the best results for all can be obtained. The ten weeks' work of last summer has served only as an introduction to the possibilities of this work and the urgent need of early action in securing for the State historical materials which are rapidly being burned or disposed of to the junk dealer. Many personal illustrations could be given of instances learned during the summer of the great waste and loss along these lines.

It is in the province of this department of the State Library to preserve the historical archives of the State which are not in current use from ruin and decay; also to discover, collect and classify all materials connected with the history of Indiana.

While no specific provision has been made for this work, yet ultimately the department should provide not only for the care of the official archives of the State, but also the following:

1. All books and pamphlets relating to Indiana.
2. All writings of Indiana authors.

3. Private manuscripts, such as private letters, journals, diaries, scrap-books, etc.

4. Old and current files of Indiana newspapers and periodicals.

5. All literature bearing upon institutional development of the State, such as minutes and proceedings of conventions, conferences and associations, official gatherings of religious organizations, and catalogues, bulletins and announcements of educational institutions.

By keeping these needs before the attention of the people, much material may be obtained in the form of gifts or deposits without any financial outlay.

Much valuable service might also be rendered the State by the issuing of a complete catalogue of all the publications authorized by the State since its organization; by a general index of official reports and other documents; by the collation and publication of a list of accessible Indiana newspapers; by the publication of original source material bearing upon the development of the State, and in a variety of other ways.

There is doubtless in every department of administration of the State government a large amount of material possessing historical value which should be properly classified and catalogued for intelligent use. The same is true of official materials to be found in every county court-house of the State.

The situation has been met by legislation in some States. The law in Alabama and Mississippi provides:

"Any State, county, municipal or other official is hereby authorized and empowered, in his discretion, to turn over to the Department [Archives and History] for permanent preservation therein, any official books, records, documents, original papers, newspaper files and printed books not in current use in their offices. When so surrendered, copies therefrom shall be made and certified by the director upon application of any persons interested, which certification shall have all the force and effect as if made by the officer originally in the custody of them, and for which the same fees shall be charged, to be collected in advance." Kansas has a similar law.

A collection of such material would furnish the facts of the real history of the State, and would doubtless prove that the memory of individuals is frequently uncertain.

There are in the State many people of influence who are interested in this work and are willing to give it their support in any possible reasonable way. The theory back of the establishment of this department is based on the importance of State archives, both from practical and historical considerations, and on the necessity of bringing them all together in one central repository, where they can be arranged, indexed and made readily accessible.

The result of the establishment of such a department recognized by the State will be to dignify the hitherto neglected accumulations of old papers, denominated by many as so much worthless trash and rubbish, and to rescue from loss and destruction many documents which would otherwise be consigned to the junk-man and paper-mill.

The first aim of the department should be to secure and save; and then as rapidly as possible to bind, classify, catalogue and publish for the benefit of the investigator.

Many States, notably Massachusetts, New York, West Virginia, North Carolina, Alabama, Mississippi, Iowa, Kansas and Wisconsin, are carrying on this work in some form or other, on a practical, substantial basis.

Shall Indiana, recognized as a leader in educational work, be behind her sister States, who are carrying on this phase of work so efficiently?

Our State has some individuals, historical societies and some educational institutions that do something in the way of collecting and preserving the history of our people, but it is not within the power of individuals, historical societies or educational institutions, in any American State, to collect and preserve in systematic order the history, biography, public documents, state papers, legislative journals, executive messages, proceedings and reports of boards of regents and directors of State institutions, educational and otherwise; minutes of conferences, presbyteries, synods and other meetings of religious bodies; proceedings of grand lodges and secret benevolent societies, and other social

organizations; records of commercial and industrial progress, programs and catalogues, published sermons and addresses of any sort; club and society year books; "dead" papers of courts; annual and biennial reports of executive departments; maps, charts and drawings, with hundreds of other items, which illustrate the history, government, geography, geology, topography and military achievements, and the civic, industrial and economic life of the people, and the many other publications that go to make up the archives of the State, the sources of its local and general history; files of newspapers and other periodicals; and to classify and arrange all this so as to be readily available to every one when wanted. If the material—the sources of the local history of the State of Indiana—is rescued, collected and preserved for the use and benefit of those who are to come after us, how is the work to be accomplished?

There is but one way, one power, that can do it, and that is the State. Let the State create a Department of Archives and History to do the work—no matter under what name—and it will be done. Then will the sources and materials for local history be gathered from the remotest bounds of the State, and be brought together and classified for the use of students and all others who may have an interest in it or care to see it. Only some department of the State—aided by an appropriation of sufficient funds from the State Treasury—can perform the work, which the future cries loudly to us to perform and transmit results to it.

Woodrow Wilson, president of Princeton University, has said that "The world's memory must be kept alive, or we shall never see an end of its old mistakes. We are in danger to become infantile in every direction. This is the real menace under which we cower in this age of change."

It is the office of the historian to keep the world's memory alive. There will never be an end of the writing of history. Some one has truly said that each generation must write all its past history afresh, from its own changing standpoint. But that this may continue and with increasing advantage, there must never be an end of accumulating historical material. Each generation must accumulate its own for the benefit of its successor.

THE RESERVOIR WAR IN CLAY COUNTY.

[The following chapter in our canal history is taken from the *Brazil Daily Times*, of June 21, 1907.

BIRCH Creek reservoir, which covered an area of a section and a half, practically a thousand acres, lying immediately west of the present town of Saline, was constructed in the year 1853, and filled in the early part of the following year, at a cost of \$30,000 to the canal company. The embankment which confined this body of water is now the graded wagon road leading westward across the creek bottom from the C. & E. I. railroad station.

Citizens objected to the maintenance of this body of water without first removing the timber on the ground, for the reason that it would prove deleterious and threatening to the public health.

On the 22d of February, 1854, a public meeting was held at the residence of George Moss, Sr., the two-story, hewn-log house then standing on the bluff half-way between the site now occupied by the town of Ashboro and Birch Creek, Sugar Ridge (then Washington) township, to take counsel on the public interests involved. This meeting was addressed by Daniel Dunlavy, of Dick Johnson township, who was then the county's representative in the State Legislature, when it was declared by resolution that there should be no let up in hostilities against the company until the demand of the public for the removal of the timber should be conceded and carried out. Notwithstanding this decisive action of the meeting, the company ignored the public grievance and proceeded to fill up the feeder.

The first overt act on the part of the people expressive of their disapproval and resentment of the course pursued by the company was a slight cut in the embankment at some time in the month of May, inflicting but little damage, which was soon repaired. But on the night of the 22d day of June following a gap of a hundred feet was cut, through which flowed out practically

the whole basin of water, in effect suspending navigation on the Crosscut (that section of the canal between the Wabash, at Terre Haute, and Newberry, on White river) for the period of three months.

James M. Hanna, of Bowling Green, State's attorney for Clay county, then issued a call for a meeting to be held at the feeder dam, July 28th, to consider means of pacification, which was largely attended, there being representatives of the canal company present, when it was agreed that the timber should be cut and removed. To carry out this agreement a contract was at once let to William K. Houston, of Bowling Green, and the work completed before the close of the year, costing about \$10,000.

While this work was in progress, on the 9th day of September, the breastwork of the feeder dam was fired and burned to the water's edge.

Succeeding this, on the 19th day of October, Governor Wright issued his proclamation offering a reward of \$500 for the "apprehension, arrest and lodgment in custody of the offenders or any of them," announcement of which was made by posters in bold type, prominently displayed about the reservoir.

As the darkest cloud is said to have its silver lining, even so are the most pathetic aspects of life and affairs mellowed by the tinge of humor. These posters, it is said, were taken down by night and written ones substituted offering a reward of the same amount for the "apprehension and delivery in good condition of 'Old Joe Wright' on the banks of Birch Creek reservoir."

Though succeeded by a temporary lull, this procedure on the part of the Governor, coupled with the company's acceding to the terms of pacification demanded, did not fully assuage the grievances of the public. The "nuisance," as the reservoir had been pronounced, was still there, and the fires of animosity engendered still smoldering. Several months later, navigation and traffic having resumed their usual sway, on the 10th day of May, 1855, at the hour of noon, there marched upon the embankment of the feeder, in regular file, a body of one hundred men, who drove away the guard, then proceeded summarily to discharge all the accumulated water. One account of this assault made

upon the company's works says that there were in the party one hundred and fifty-four men, half of whom were armed with rifles and most of the others with spades and shovels, all having blacked^e faces. Then it was, on the urgent solicitation of the trustees of the canal company, that the Governor called out the militia to suppress the violence being done to the company's property, which gave rise to the so-called "Reservoir War" in our local history.

The proclamation of the Governor calling out the military brought Clay county to the notice of the outside world. In the *Cincinnati Commercial* of corresponding date appeared the following exhaustive paragraph from the vocabulary of causticity in the characterization of Clay county and its people:

"We were yesterday surprised to receive a paper from Clay county, Indiana. We did not suppose that the people read the papers in that swampy, sloppy, soggy, sticky, stinking, stifling, stubborn, starving, subsidiary, slaving, slavish, swinish, sheepish, sorrowfully dark, desolate, direful, devilish, dim, doleful, downcast, dirty, despairing, deluded, degenerate, dismal, dreary, driveling, demoniac, dilapidated locality, where public works are destroyed, and the officers whose duty it is to defend the laws, with blacked faces trample them under foot. On first opening this paper we felt hopeful, thinking there would be light shining in the midst of darkness, but instead we found that the *Clay County Citizen* only makes darkness visible, as it is the organ of the canal cutters."

To ask who cut the reservoir embankment is but to paraphrase "Who struck Billy Patterson?" If any of them be yet living they are known only to themselves. The writer never learned to know but three of the whole number, and they passed away some years ago.

M. ARTZ.

THE NORTHWEST CORNER OF INDIANA IN 1834.

A LETTER OF SOLON ROBINSON'S.

[Solon Robinson was one of the first and most prominent settlers of Lake county, sometimes called "The Squatter-King of Lake." He founded Crown Point, and was for a time postmaster, and was generally active in public affairs. He was a fluent and entertaining writer and seems to have exercised his talent. See T. H. Ball's "Lake County, 1834-1872," pp. 22 ff., and "Lake County, 1884," pp., 465, 483.]

From the Madison, Indiana, Republican and Banner, January 15, 1835.

ROBINSON'S PRAIRIE,
OAKLAND COUNTY, IA. [INDIANA],
DECEMBER 16, 1834.

MESSERS. LODGE & PATRICK*: I avail myself of the privilege of addressing you, and through you, some information, not only of myself, but of the country that I hope will be interesting to my friends and acquaintances and many of your readers.

Your first inquiry will be, "Where is the place you date from?" It is the territory which forms the northwest corner of Indiana, lying west of Laporte county and between the Kankakee river and Lake Michigan. Being one of the first settlers, I have named it "Oakland county," as descriptive of most of the timber in it. This prairie having no other name, and I having moved the first white family onto it, it has been called "Robinson's Prairie" by way of distinction. My location is thirty-five miles southwest of Michigan City on the old Sioux Indian trail leading in the direction of Peoria, Ill., and about the same distance southeast of Chicago, and on the dividing ridge between the lakes and the Mississippi. I can not give you an adequate idea of this country. To say it is rich and beautiful is not sufficient. It is the first fine country I ever saw. I am now speaking of the north part of the State generally. You have heard the Door Prairie described. Description gives you no idea of the

*Publishers of the *Madison Republican and Banner*.

real splendor of the green when it first breaks upon the view. I had seen many prairies before, but never such an one. My intention, when I left Madison, was to have settled upon it. Knowing that it was only two or three years since it began to settle, I expected to find much vacant land. Instead of that it is nearly all claimed and already wears the appearance of an old settled country. Good frame houses and barns built and building, with such a multitude of stacks of hay and grain that it looks like the great storehouse of the world. And yet, with all this abundance, grain is already becoming high and scarce. The influx of "newcomers" is beyond calculation. Land is rising in value most wonderfully, and yet when compared with some other countries it never can reach a value sufficiently high to compare with its real worth. "Congress improvements" are frequently sold on the Door Prairie from \$500 to \$2,000 for quarter-sections. Every emigrant's desire is to get upon the most valuable location he can find, so that his improvements will rise in value before the land comes into market, which will not be until next summer or later.

Not finding a situation in Laporte county that suited me, I was at some loss what to do, when I accidentally met with the surveyors just returned from their survey in this territory. They informed me that there was a large tract of country entirely unsettled which was not only equally as fertile as the Door Prairie, but in other respects better. I immediately procured an Indian pony, furnished myself with provisions and a blanket, took notes and a plat of the country from the surveyors and in company with one other person started out on an exploring tour. I soon found the spots pointed out to me as first rate on my plat, and upon one of them made my pitch, returned to Laporte and procured hands to help build a cabin and moved my family on directly, some fifteen or twenty miles beyond "the last house," and in one week after we camped upon this spot I had a comfortable log cabin eighteen feet square, as well finished off as could be expected thirty-five miles from a saw-mill. I came onto this prairie the 1st of November, at which time I could have said with the poet of Juan Fernandes—

"I am monarch of all I survey.

My right there is none to dispute."

but now there is about a dozen houses in sight, and numerous claims made for others, though as yet I have but one white neighbor within ten miles. This is an arm of the "Grand Prairie" and is most beautifully interspersed with groves of timber, which consist of white, black, yellow, red and burr oak and great quantities of shellbark hickory and some other timber. Lakes, streams and springs are also plenty. In the grove where I have built there is an abundance of crab-apple, plum and cherry trees, and, above all, there are a great number of "honey trees" in the country. The soil on this prairie is composed of twelve to eighteen inches of dry, black vegetable matter on top, then from one to two feet of loose, clayey loam, under which is a hard pan of limestone and pebbly clay. Stone is not plenty, though enough for the most necessary purposes can be obtained easily. Soft timber is scarce; rail and other timber abundant and excellent, and fuel the best I ever saw, particularly oak, which when perfectly green will ignite as easily and burn as well as I ever saw seasoned hickory or sugar tree do in the south part of this State. As to the healthfulness of the country, I can only say that everybody says it is so, and everybody's personal appearance warrants the belief that the say-so is true. The badness of my own health was my inducement for leaving the Ohio river, as then there seemed no prospect of my ever recovering it. Here I have become as hearty as ever I was in my life—completely restored. I most earnestly wish that many of my friends could partake of the benefits of this country. The north end of Indiana will most certainly become the garden spot of the State. A very erroneous impression has been long impressed upon the public in regard to the country purchased of the Pottawattamies in 1832, lying within this State. It has ever been represented upon the map of the State as one immense swamp, but instead of that being the fact, it is directly the contrary. Ten thousand acres of fine, high, dry prairie to one of swamp is more correct. Nearly all the streams are bordered with marsh, on which grows the most luxuriant crop of grass, which affords the greatest abundance of good hay.

to the new settlers. So that instead of being a detriment to the settlement of the country, it is the greatest advantage—and as the water of these marshes is generally pure spring water and no decaying timber on them, they are in no way unhealthy. In fact, there is no decaying timber here (the great cause of miasma) even in the timbered land. It is all burnt up annually, as the Indians make it a point to fire the prairies every fall, and all of the timber here is so combustible that it burns so entirely as to leave no trace even of the stumps. Perhaps this is the way that the prairies are first made.

There appear to be but few Indians now in the country. There are three wigwams on the bank of a most beautiful lake abounding in fish, geese, ducks and muskrats, about four miles from my house. The wigwams are built of sticks and covered with long grass and flag matting, and are about ten or twelve feet in diameter, with a small fire and a great smoke in the center, around which the family sit or lie on a few skins or blankets. * * * And yet these are a cheerful, happy people. Their dress usually consists of moccasins, broadcloth or buckskin leggings, a kind of kilt, and sometimes a shirt, and over all a blanket loosely thrown. They are frequently at my house to “swap” *suc-se-we-ors* (venison) for *buck-we-an* and *quass-gun* (flour and bread), or *po-ke-min* (cranberries) and musquas skins for *sum-ma* (tobacco) and *daw-mien* (corn). They are quiet and civil, but not quite so neat as might be. Their besetting sin is a love of whisky—an awful curse that white men have inflicted upon them. I blush to say that there are men in Indiana that will strip an Indian of his last blanket by whisky. They are fast falling before the sweeping pestilence of drunkenness. One of the coldest nights of this winter one of the poor wretches lay out upon this prairie, having pawned his best blanket for whisky enough to murder him.

Some persons who would like to emigrate to the Pottawatamie country are deterred from it by fear of the Indians. Such, if once here, would dismiss their fears. They are by no means unpleasant neighbors—besides it is probable that they will all leave the country in the course of the next summer for their new home west of the Mississippi. Others are deterred from emi-

grating in consequence of the land not yet being in market. No difficulty is to be apprehended from making improvements before purchasing. Congress provided for all of the settlers of 1833 at the last session by a removal of the pre-emption law. No doubt the same favor will be extended to those who have settled since that time at the present session of Congress. If not, the claims of settlers are most singularly respected by common custom. For instance, a person comes here and looks at a piece of land that suits him. He will perhaps lay the foundation of a cabin, is "claimed" or located, and no person will interfere or presume to settle upon it without first purchasing the first claimant's right. There is a vast body of most beautiful country yet unclaimed in this purchase. Thousands of "first rate chances" may yet be had on this prairie and in the groves adjoining. I have no doubt but that the rush of emigrants into "Oakland county" will be as great for three years to come as it has been into Laporte county for three years past. The growth of this country to an Eastern or Southern man is most wonderful. The majority of the inhabitants are Yankees, and those, too, who are not only comfortable, but "well to live." One good evidence of the good quality of the inhabitants is to be seen in the numerous schoolhouses and the scarcity of grog shops. There is a great demand for mechanics. The communication of New York by the lakes is so easy that merchandise is not high, but labor and provisions of all kinds are quite so, when compared with the prevailing prices on the Ohio river.

Michigan City, which is the only landing place at present on Lake Michigan in this State, presents one of the most singularly rapid growths I ever knew. It is now in reality a small city. One year ago it contained only three log cabins. There is much fine white pine timber near the city, and Trail creek affords good mill privileges, on which are several mills.

Although this is a very level country, there are an abundance of mill privileges on never failing streams, which possess the singular feature of never rising or falling except a mere trifle.

If you think my present sketch may be interesting to your readers, I will probably give you a continuation of it hereafter.
Yours, etc.,

SOLON ROBINSON.

THE FIRST INDIANA HORTICULTURAL SOCIETY.

BY W. H. RAGAN.

[Extracts from a paper read at the annual meeting of the Indiana Horticultural Society, 1906, and printed in full in the proceedings of the Society for that year.]

IN August, 1840, I saw my father and mother, each well mounted, he with saddlebags filled to their uttermost capacity, and she with a good-sized bag swinging from the horn of her saddle, vanish from view into the wilderness that well nigh surrounded our cabin home, and for a period of almost or quite a week they were gone from us. On their return they had much to tell us about their visit to the great city and of the many things they saw and heard while gone. They had attended the first meeting of the Indiana Horticultural Society; indeed helped organize the society and had displayed the fruit they had carried with them, in saddlebags and pannier, at the exhibition that was held in the "Hall of the new State House," which had been graciously granted them for the purpose. The meeting was held on the 22d day of August, 1840. James Blake was president and H. P. Coburn acted as secretary. Many others besides my good parents had assembled themselves together on that occasion, with the common purpose in view of effecting an organization for the promotion of horticulture in our then new State. The movement was largely inspired by the leading spirit of the late Rev. Henry Ward Beecher, then a resident of Indianapolis, and pastor of one of its pioneer churches. At the time of this meeting the *Indiana Farmer* was in its first volume, as a monthly, though for three years prior to that date an irregularly published weekly, bearing the same name, had been conducted by John Osborn and J. S. Willets. In 1840 Mr. Willets became sole proprietor of the monthly *Indiana Farmer* and its columns gave abundant evidence of his cordial support of the newly born Horticultural Society. At the close of the year 1840, or soon thereafter, Mr.

Beecher assumed the editorial charge of the paper, after which its name was changed to *Indiana Farmer and Gardener*, which became the official organ of the society during the succeeding five years of its existence, or until Mr. Beecher returned East.

Of those who participated in this early meeting, my parents often spoke in their later life. Indeed, it was an epoch in their otherwise quiet lives, and the theme was so fascinating to them and was so frequently reiterated in the hearing of us children, that I almost feel as though I had really "been there," and that I am now relating this as an original story. I have already said that James Blake was chairman of this first meeting and that H. P. Coburn (father of General John) acted as secretary, and besides these, Aaron Aldridge, Martin Williams, Benjamin Morris; Cyrus R. Overman, James Sigerson, Joshua Lindley and many others were present and contributors to the exhibition. No prizes were offered at this exhibition, but many fine and rare specimens of fruits bedecked the tables. Joshua Lindley exhibited the first specimen grown in the State of the justly celebrated Williams Bon Chretien (Bartlett) pear. It was too precious to sample, but my parents were permitted to handle it and "sniff its fragrant perfume," which they likened unto that of a well-ripened muskmelon. At the close of the exhibition it was presented to the editor of the *Indiana Farmer*, who, later, had the following to say of it: "It became perfectly mellow in a few days; was very juicy and of excellent flavor, and we can recommend it as one of the best varieties of pears." From a historical standpoint, this item is one of much interest, since, from that day to this, the Bartlett, all things considered, has been our most popular and valuable pear.

I do not think my parents attended the second annual meeting of Indiana Horticultural Society, which occurred in the fall of 1841, but they did attend that of 1842. On that occasion a much larger attendance of members and friends of the cause is noted and there was made an exhibition of fruits and flowers that would do credit to the best efforts known to the present generation of horticulturists, and this result was not called forth by any tempting offer of prizes to be awarded, for but one was to be

competed for, and that one a set of silver teaspoons for the best seedling apple. There were a number of competitors for this prize, which, in the hands of a competent committee, was finally awarded to a seedling that originated in Putnam county and that was exhibited by Reuben Ragan. The spoons are yet in the family, two of the six having fallen to the writer's share of his father's estate, and it is needless to add that they are highly prized as interesting and valuable souvenirs of early-day horticulture in Indiana. Mr. Beecher was a member of the committee that made the award and he also proposed the name, "Osceola," a name that the apple has since borne. Osceola, for whom the apple was named, was the brave and daring chief of the Seminoles, who had then but recently pined and dined in the military prison at Fort Moultrie, Charleston, S. C., a victim to the treachery of "pale-faced warriors."

The attendance at this third annual meeting of the society embraced, among others, the names of James Blake, James M. Ray, A. G. Willard, J. S. Willets, Nathaniel West, Aaron Aldridge, James Sigerson, Joseph Beeler, H. W. Beecher, Sherman Day, J. L. Richmond, L. Munsell, John Hobart, Abner Pope, C. W. VanHouten, Joshua Lindley, Calvin Fletcher, H. P. Coburn, A. F. Morrison, Powell Howland, Reuben Ragan, Martin Williams, C. R. Overman, Andrew Hampton, Cornelius Ratliff, Z. S. Ragan, George W. Merritt, N. Noble, William S. Hubbard and others of that day and generation, besides many of their wives and daughters. I well remember seeing my father and mother, with over-burdened saddlebags and pannier, leaving home to attend this meeting, and their return with the much-coveted prize they had won, and the stories they had to relate of the things they saw and the people they met, and these are some of the pleasant recollections of my child-life.

It is probable that the meeting and exhibition of 1842 marked the high tide of the society's existence, under its original organization. At any rate the organization ceased to exist, as such, with the return to the East of its chief promoter, the Rev. H. W. Beecher, which event, I think, occurred early in 1847. It is an honor and a credit alike to the horticulturists of our State that

the first society of its kind in the great West, now the home of the most noted organization of the kind in existence, should have been effected within our limits, and that, too, by men whose spirit of enterprise has been handed down through their own blood to the present day. All hail to their memories!

It may not be strictly appropriate to speak of the "reorganization" when the new society was not given the exact name of the old, for such is true. It was the "Indiana Horticultural Society" that was organized in 1840, and it was "Indiana Pomological Society" that was organized in October, 1860, but at the second biennial meeting, which occurred in January, 1863, the name was changed to Indiana Horticultural Society, and its meetings thereafter became annual. * * * The immediate credit of the organization of Indiana Pomological Society belongs more to E. Y. Teas than to any other one person. At the Indiana State Fair, held at Indianapolis in October, 1860, about twenty persons met on the evening of October 18, 1860, in the insurance office of Mr. Mayhew, on South Pennsylvania street, Indianapolis. * * * Notwithstanding the smallness of the number present, an organization was effected. Reuben Ragan was chosen president, William Miller, Abram Trueblood, J. W. Tenbrook and Lewis Jones, vice-presidents; William H. Loomis, secretary, and John C. Teas, treasurer.

Thus the Indiana Horticultural Society of to-day had its beginning. There were present on the occasion mentioned by Mr. Teas, according to the published records of that event, Lewis Jones, Wayne county; W. B. Lipsey, Washington county; Gardner Goldsmith, Marion county; C. Fletcher, Jr., Marion county; George M. Beeler, Marion county; T. A. Loyd, Tippecanoe county; E. Y. Teas, Wayne county; John Snepp, Johnson county; Joseph Ashton, Clark county; Dr. J. A. Warder, Cincinnati, Ohio, "and several other gentlemen." Among the "several other gentlemen" were J. W. Tenbrook, Parke county; John C. Teas, Henry county, and W. H. Ragan, Putnam county.

Lewis Jones presided at this preliminary meeting and Thomas A. Loyd acted as secretary. The form of an organization was

agreed upon, a committee consisting of Mr. Loomis, G. Goldsmith and E. Y. Teas having reported the same, after which a committee consisting of Dr. Warder, G. Goldsmith and E. Y. Teas reported the list of officers enumerated above, and the meeting adjourned to reconvene in the nursery office of Fletcher, Williams and Loomis on the following evening to further perfect the organization, etc.

Pursuant to the adjournment from the evening previous, the society reconvened on the evening of October 19, 1860, with a somewhat increased attendance. The president-elect not being present, Dr. George W. Mears, of Indianapolis, was called to preside, and Mr. Loomis took his place at the secretary's desk. Those present on this occasion, in addition to those mentioned as having been present on the previous evening, were: Dr. George W. Mears, of Marion; R. E. Ragan, of Hendricks; Dr. J. C. Helm, of Delaware; Abner Pope, of Marion; D. V. Culley, of Marion; John F. Hill, of Marion; Erie Lock, of Marion; Eliphalet Case, of Switzerland, and Thomas B. Morris, of Wayne counties. On motion of William B. Lipsey, of Washington county, a general fruit committee of seven was appointed. It embraced the following named gentlemen: Reuben Ragan, William Miller, E. Y. Teas, John Wright, J. W. Tenbrook, I. D. G. Nelson and W. B. Lipsey.

The first regular session of Indiana Pomological Society convened in the Supreme Court room in Indianapolis on Wednesday, January 9, 1861, in pursuance of adjournment. Reuben Ragan, president-elect, having declined, on account of age and infirmities, Hon. John A. Matson, of Putnam county, was called to preside.

John A. Matson, of Putnam county, was elected president; William Miller, of St. Joseph county; Barnabas C. Hobbs, of Parke county; Oliver Albertson, of Washington county, and Lewis Jones, of Wayne county, vice-presidents; John C. Teas, of Henry county, treasurer, and William H. Loomis, of Marion county, secretary, each to serve for two years. Letters were read from Reuben Ragan declining to serve as president, and from Dr. John A. Warder expressing his deep regret at not being

able to attend the meeting, and complimenting the fruit growers of Indiana on their successful organization and its auspicious promise of future usefulness. A constitution was formally adopted and much valuable discussion was indulged in concerning varieties of fruits, their adaptability to our soils and climate, and especially their true names and various synonyms. It may be correctly inferred from this that our fruit nomenclature was, at that day, in a bad plight and that its correction and improvement was regarded by members of the society as its most urgent obligation.

The meeting continued for three days and finally closed after the adoption of lists of varieties of fruits which were recommended to the people of the State for general planting. These lists embraced thirteen varieties of apples; twelve of pears; one of cherries; six of peaches; one of quinces; three of currants; two of gooseberries; six of grapes; three of raspberries, and four of strawberries, and also, in addition to these, a list of fruits which were "recommended as promising well." At the October meeting of the society the secretary had been directed to publish a circular of inquiry concerning the various fruits and to send it out to the growers of the State. A total of twenty-four responses had been received and were reported by that officer, who presented them to the meeting. In these several responses the aggregate of fifty-six varieties were mentioned with more or less approval by the several correspondents.

The second biennial session of the society was held in the rooms of the Indiana State Board of Agriculture in the State Capitol, beginning on January 7, 1863. The attendance at this meeting was rather small, owing to the existence of the War of the Rebellion, then raging at its height. At this meeting the constitution was changed in two important particulars: First, the meetings were made to occur annually thereafter, and second, the name of the society was changed from "Pomological" to "Horticultural." The main object in this latter change was to broaden the field of discussion. Before it was restricted to the discussion of fruits alone, now any topic within the broad field of horticulture might be legitimately introduced and discussed.

Hon. I. D. G. Nelson, of Fort Wayne, an intelligent and thoroughly practical horticulturist and extensive fruit grower, was elected president; Gen. Joseph Orr, of Laporte, Lewis Jones, of Wayne, Hon. John C. Shoemaker, of Perry, and W. H. Ragan, of Putnam, vice-presidents; George M. Beeler, of Marion, secretary, and John C. Teas, of Henry, treasurer. Thirty-two paying members, including several of the leading fruit-growers of the State, were enrolled during the meeting. The meeting lasted for three days and the discussions embraced a large list of appropriate subjects. Mr. Sylvester Johnson first became one of us at this session, since which we have had no more faithful and attentive member, he having subsequently served the society for eleven years consecutively as its efficient presiding officer. He is our senior member in years, and but two are now living who antedate his enrollment as a member and who at all times have been constant and faithful to their original obligation. Two lists of fruits, one that was recommended for "general planting" within the State, and one that "promised well," appear in the published proceedings of this meeting. These have proved of great value to the planters of that day and to subsequent generations. No fixed programs were arranged for the early meetings, and prior to that of January, 1864, no formal papers or addresses were read or delivered before the assembled society.

Prior to the year 1866 the society was entirely supported by the membership fees of those who constituted it. In 1866 the Hon. George W. Hoss, then State Superintendent of Public Instruction, arranged with the society to place a bound copy of its transactions for that year in each of the then existing township libraries throughout the State. This generous proposition, in addition to the high compliment to the character of the work being accomplished by the society, also enabled it to make a much more favorable contract with the publishers, by reason of the greatly increased number of volumes taken. The reports for this year were also bound in cloth instead of paper, as heretofore. We therefore owe a debt of gratitude to Professor Hoss, as also to the individual members who, prior to that date, and to a large extent since, have borne the burden of expense in keeping alive our cherished organization.

Below is an alphabetical list of those who were members prior to 1866, and the year in which they were such. By reason of time and space required, only the first year of membership is given, in case of each individual, many of whom became annual paying members, from and after their first initiation. Indeed this was, and has ever been, the rule:

Albertson, Oliver, 1865; Ashton, Joseph, 1860; Bayless, Lot S., 1864; Beeler, George M., 1860; Blair, J. W., 1865; Bond, S. R., 1865; Bond, Charles D., 1864; Brevoort, Ed S., 1865; Burnett, Steven, 1865; Caldwell, H., 1865; Campbell, George W., 1864; Carr, J. F., 1864; Case, Eliphalet, 1860; Conley, John J., 1861; Cox, Prof. E. T., 1864; Culley, D. V., 1860; Darrough, John, 1865; Dicker, James, 1865; Dunlop, John S., 1863; Fatout, D. B., 1863; Fawcett, J., 1865; Fisher, Stearns, 1864; Fitzgerald, T. H., 1865; Fleming, William, 1865; Fletcher, Calvin, 1860; Francis, John T., 1865; Freeman, John, 1865; Furnas, Dr. Allen, 1863; Furnas, Isaac, 1865; Goldsmith, G., 1860; Gregory, J. N., 1865; Harlan, Dr. J. B., 1864; Harrison, A. I., 1863; Helm, Dr. J. C., 1860; Hill, John F., 1860; Holmes, A. J., 1864; Hubbard, William S., 1864; Johnson, F. C., 1864; Johnson, Sylvester, 1863; Jones, Adam, 1866; Jones, Lewis, 1860; King, Edward, 1863; Lang, Louis, 1863; Lipsey, William B., 1860; Little, James A., 1864; Lock, Erie, 1860; Loomis, William H., 1860; Loveland, E. P., 1864; Lowder, Charles, 1864; Loyd, Allen, 1863; Loyd, Thomas A., 1860; Lupton, George, 1864; McCarty, Nicholas, 1863; McConnell, George W., 1864; Mankedick, Henry, 1863; Martin, J. H., 1864; Matson, J. A., 1861; Mears, Dr. G. W., 1860; Mendenhall, C. S., 1861; Miller, William, 1860; Morris, Thomas B., 1860; Morris, Samuel V., 1863; Morrison, Jacob, 1864; Myers, C. F. G., 1865; Nelson, DeGroff, 1864; Nelson, I. D. G., 1861; Nicholson, John H., 1865; Orr, Gen. Joseph, 1864; Parker, Christian, 1865; Pearson, Seth W., 1864; Pierce, John, 1861; Poole, Joseph, 1865; Pope, Abner, 1860; Ragan, Dr. G. T., 1863; Ragan, Reuben, 1860; Ragan, Robert E., 1860; Ragan, William A., 1863; Ragan, W. H., 1860; Ratliff, J. C., 1864; Reese, D. E., 1865; Ross, Charles, 1864; Rothrock, V., 1865; Rudisell, H. J., 1864; Schlater, William H., 1864; Shepherd, Rev. I. N., 1864; Shoemaker, J. C.,

1863; Simons, Thomas, 1863; Simpson, Archibald, 1861; Snepp, David J., 1864; Snepp, John, 1860; Springer, J. E., 1864; Sterret, Rev. Alexander, 1864; Stevens, Walter G., 1861; Stone, Gen. A., 1861; Stuart, Zimri, 1865; Tarleton, Caleb, 1863; Teas, Edward Y., 1860; Teas, John C., 1860; Tenbrook, John W., 1860; Thompson, Prof. S. H., 1865; Thornton, H. P., 1865; Troll, George R., 1865; Townsend, J. M., 1863; Trueblood, Abram, 1860; Van Camp, G. C., 1864; Wetmore, S. F., 1864; White, Jesse, 1865; Williams, Jesse L., 1864; Williams, Martin, 1860; Wright, Benjamin H., 1863; Wright, Capt. John, 1860; Young, H. H., 1864.

SAMUEL BIGGER.

Reminiscences by Jacob Julian in the Richmond Palladium. Kindness of Helen V. Austin.

[Mr. Jacob Julian was a native of Centerville and knew intimately the people and scenes of which he wrote. He afterward moved to Irvington, Marion county, and became a prominent lawyer in Indianapolis.]

AMONG the lawyers who during Judge Charles H. Test's time visited Centerville and sometimes appeared in court, was Samuel Bigger, who succeeded Judge Test as circuit judge, and in 1840 was made Governor of the State.

Bigger was a tall, rather fine-looking young man. He was fond of fun, and spent the most of his time playing on the violin in Noble's saloon and in joking with its inmates. He was a good-humored, pleasant fellow, apparently without energy or ambition, and was liked because of his social qualities. While, however, this was the public estimate of him, his intimate friends had confidence in his ability and ultimate success, and when Judge Test left the bench this jolly good fellow, this fiddler of the saloon, was made his successor. People soon found out that he was making an excellent judge. He did not prove an able lawyer, but with his good, strong sense and sterling honesty and

pleasant manners, he succeeded in winning the respect of the people and in making everybody his friend. People loved him for his common ways, his affability and cleverness to all. He made every one at home in his presence, in or out of the courthouse. He had Lincoln's fondness for a joke, without much of his skill in telling one.

It was during these years that George W. Stonestreet, who was a man of extraordinary quickness and wit, especially when intoxicated, lived in Centerville. He was a great favorite of Judge Bigger and was placed by him on perfect equality with himself. One day, in a state of partial intoxication, Stonestreet rode his little pony directly up to the front door of the courthouse, from which Judge Bigger, sitting on the bench in the court-room, which was then downstairs, saw him, and was so much overcome by his ludicrous appearance as to invite him, by an unmistakable motion of his hand, to ride in. The invitation was at once accepted and Stonestreet, on his little pony, presented himself at the bar, and lifting his hat to the judge, turned to the left and escaped by the west side door. Of course, the judge could not complain, and did not, but joined with the lawyers and other persons present in the uproarious laughter which ensued.

Judge Bigger had a boy's fondness for shows of all kinds, and never failed to attend them. Even Governor Hendricks, who never missed a circus in his life, was never more prompt in his attendance on one of these exhibitions than was Bigger.

Samuel Bigger held the office of circuit judge until 1840, when he resigned to make the canvass for Governor on the Whig ticket. He was elected and made a model Governor. He died quite young at Fort Wayne, whither he had removed after the close of his term of office as Governor.

JUDGE CHARLES B. LASSELLE'S NOTES ON ALICE OF OLD VINCENNES.

[The following paper was written by Judge Lasselle several years ago and published, at least in part, in the Logansport and other papers. Extracts from it, and comments upon it, are given in Hubbard M. Smith's "Historical Sketches of Old Vincennes," pp. 34, 286 ff. But as there seem to have been inaccuracies in its production, and as it raises interesting questions, it is here printed practically in full with only a few verbal changes and some unimportant omissions. Judge Lasselle, now living at an advanced age at Logansport, has long been regarded, and rightly so, as authority upon the lore of the Wabash Valley. A contribution from him on the early traders of the State was published in the issue of March, 1906.]

THE story of "Alice of Old Vincennes," by the late Maurice Thompson, is so realistic that a number of the writer's friends have requested him to point out such characters and events as would justify its claim of being an "historical romance." This is no easy task, owing to the employment by the author of anachronism as to the age of Alice and the dates of the events in which she figures, and the great number of the scenes and events, partly historical and partly fictitious, which occur. As to Alice herself, she was a real person, well known to the early inhabitants of Vincennes, as the sequel of this will show. Her real name was Mary Shannon. She was the daughter of Captain William Shannon, one of Colonel George Rogers Clark's most patriotic and gallant officers. We first hear of Captain Shannon through Clark himself. In his "Memoirs," to be found in English's "Conquest of the Northwest," vol. I, p. 531, he states that Captain Shannon was taken prisoner by a party of the enemy while the army was nearing Vincennes. He was taken to the British fort, but released upon the surrender of the fort a day or two afterward. Shortly after the surrender of the fort, Colonel Clark distributed his troops to different points, one part going to Fort Clark, at Kaskaskia; another to Louisville, Ky., under his immediate command there, and another part remained at the fort at Vincennes. Captain Shannon removed with that part

going to Kaskaskia. Here he remained as captain and conductor of the military stores. How long he remained there is not known. A letter from him to Captain Francis Bosseron, conductor of the stores at Vincennes, in possession of the writer, dated June 15, 1779, shows that he was still there at that date. A few years after this, about 1784, he obtained from the Court of Vincennes a tract of land near the village, on the west side of the Wabash river. Many other grants of the same character were also made by the court. This gave offense to the Indians, and especially the Piankeshaw Indians. These Piankeshaws had been great friends of the French. After the defeat of the French and killing of Vincennes by the Chickesaws, of Tennessee, in 1736, the inhabitants of Vincennes entertained great fears of a hostile visit from this numerous and powerful tribe of Indians. The Piankeshaws, who, for time immemorial, had occupied a village called by the French traders "Terrehaute" (highland), at or near the site of the present city of Terre Haute, moved down, in 1742, to Vincennes to protect and defend the inhabitants in case of invasion. At the same time, as claimed by the French and afterward by the Americans, they made a grant of land to the French, extending from a point twenty-five miles above Vincennes to a point twenty-five miles below, and twenty-five miles on each side of the Wabash river—making the tract fifty miles square. But the Piankeshaws, while admitting that they made such grant as to that portion of the land lying east of the Wabash river, denied that they ever made a grant for that portion lying west of the river. Hence, the Piankeshaws and other Indians commenced hostilities.

Mr. Dillon, in his "History of Indiana," p. 184, states that, "notwithstanding the hostile temper of the Indians during the years 1785 and 1786, the court of Post Vincennes continued to grant tracts of land to various French and American adventurers. * * * Of the Americans who attempted to make improvements on such grants, some were killed by the Indians, others became alarmed and retired to Kentucky, and a few remained at Post Vincennes, where they were protected by the French inhabitants."

It was unfortunate that Captain Shannon did not do as the

other settlers. It was but a short distance, probably less than a mile, from the town. The Indians attacked his home and proceeded to massacre him and his family. Mary attempted to escape, but some of the Indians pursued and brought her back. In her great distress she called upon her Maker for help, exclaiming, "Oh, mon Dieu, oh, mon Dieu." The Indians, recognizing these words as French, supposed her to be a French girl and gave her her liberty. She then hurried toward Vincennes and hailing persons on the opposite bank of the river for help, they took her over in a boat to the village. Here she was soon provided for.

The story of "Alice" tells us that Gaspard Roussillon became her foster father. Was he a real personage? There can be no doubt that Captain Francis Bosseron was the Gaspard Roussillon of the story. In the first place, the story throughout refers to him as mayor and captain. At the time the French inhabitants organized, took possession of the fort and raised the flag, there was no captain of any kind of troops in Vincennes. Upon the return of Father Gibault and his report of the proceedings of the inhabitants of Vincennes, Colonel Clark sent over a captain's commission (now in possession of the writer) to Francis Bosseron. It was written in French, for Clark scarcely knew a word of French, nor Bosseron of English. Translated, it reads as follows:

"No. 1.

"By George Rogers Clark, Esqr., Colonel Commanding East Illinois and its dependencies, etc., etc., etc.

"By virtue of the power and authority vested in me by his Excellency, Patrick Henry, Governor and First Magistrate of Virginia, etc., I name, appoint and constitute you by these presents, captain of a militia company at Poste Vincennes. In consequence of which you will carefully discharge all the duties pertaining to the same.

"Given under my hand and seal at Fort Clark, this 10th day of August, 1778. G. R. CLARK."

The No. 1 at the left hand corner of the commission shows that it was the first commission issued by him after he and his troops left the falls of the Ohio (now Louisville) on their expedition.

Shannon, Alice's father, was conductor of the military stores at Kaskaskia and Bosseron held the same position at Vincennes. They necessarily were in close correspondence. In the letter of Shannon to Bosseron, dated at Kaskaskia, June 15, 1779, referred to above, he concludes with the words, "My compliments to Madame Bosseron," which he would not likely do unless their families were in close social relations. Bosseron being rich and liberal, it is natural that he should step in and protect the orphaned child of his friend. In this connection it may be remarked that no reference to Bosseron or, indeed, to any other person as captain of the company of French inhabitants who took possession of British Fort Sackville, is made by any of the Indiana historians. Law, Dillon, English and even Mr. Dunn in his thorough history of early times of Indiana, all seem to have implicitly followed Colonel Clark in his "Memoir." This was written by him several years after the events occurred, and with a great number of events to relate from memory, he might well be excused in making some omissions. It is due to the memory of Mr. Thompson to say that, after a very thorough investigation of the subjects of which he wrote, he was the first historian, under the garb of fiction, to give the name of the French captain above referred to.

The incidents of the flag, in the main, are clearly historical, but there are some fictions surrounding it. In Captain Bosseron's book of accounts against Captain Leonard Helm, as the representative or agent of the State of Virginia, he makes, among others, these entries:

1778:

Nov. 4.	For having raised the company.....	*500	"	—	"
Nov. 12.	Paid to St. Marie for 5 ells of red serge for the flag, at 9.....	45	"	—	"
	Paid to Mr. Dajenet for 3¾ ells of green serge at 10.....	37	"	10	"
	Paid Madame Goderre for making the flag	25	"	—	"

*See footnote p. 85.

From these entries we can obtain almost a full and precise description of the flag. It consisted of two stripes—one of red and the other of green. The extra length of the red stripe of $1\frac{3}{4}$ ells—the French ell being 40 inches in length—being taken off to form the shield in its proper place, left the flag about 11 feet in length. Whether or not a coat of arms was blazoned on the shield is not known. Nor is it known exactly what the cost price was. From the figures of Captain Bosseron, whether in French currency or in Virginia currency of $\$3.33\frac{1}{2}$ to the pound, as was usual afterward, it would be a very costly flag.* But it was a famous flag for the reason that it was the first American flag in all that vast extent of country. * * * The quartermaster's office in the War Department at Washington City and Lossing's Field Book of the Revolution contain an abundance of flag lore, but they contain no instance of a display of an American flag west of the Atlantic States.

As to the other characters and events mentioned in "Alice," they were either known to the general reader of Vincennes history or are fictitious. The writer knew "Alice" well in her old age. It so happened that her youngest son, named William Shannon, after her father, and the writer were playmates together, and their families being near neighbors, he often visited her house. In her personal appearance and character she was well described by the author. But he states several times that she was not to be regarded as beautiful. The writer would have thought otherwise, and that in her girlhood days she must have been a beautiful girl. The most prominent features of her character were her independence and kindness. She was, in fact, such a woman that the men would have called her "grand old lady" and the ladies "a sweet old lady."

The last line of the footnote on page 85 should read, "the total cost of the flag was a little more than \$20."—*Editor*.

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Nov. 4. For having raised the company.....*500 " — "
Nov. 12. Paid to St. Marie for 5 ells of red

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*Both Judge Lasselle and Mr. Smith, in commenting upon this, seem to be confused as to the currency. There can be no question, however, that in the account book, where the denominations are represented by ditto marks, the large denomination is "livre" (one-fifth of a "piastre," or Spanish dollar, and about $18\frac{1}{2}$ or $19\frac{1}{2}$ cents of our money), and the smaller is "sol" (modern "sou," being about one-twentieth of the livre and therefore about the same as our cent), both French. For "having raised the company" the charge was therefore $\$95-\100 , and the total cost of the "flag" was a little more, $\$100-\105 ."—*Editor*.

THE LAST OF AN INDIAN VILLAGE.

ON March 16th and 17th the *Indianapolis News* and other papers contained news of the discovery, on the east bank of the Wabash river three miles south of Lafayette, of an old Indian burial ground. The substance of the report was that "Michael O'Brien, who lives on Sand Ridge, had discovered half an acre of bones, human and animal, deer antlers, shells, etc., beside the Rising Clubhouse."

Before this publication Mr. Alva O. Reser, well known to many of the readers of this magazine, and an authority upon the early history of Indiana, visited the place. He has kindly sent a full account of the most important circumstances in a letter dated Lafayette, May 2d, 1908.

"I was on the ground before any of the bones were carried away, Mr. O'Brien having telephoned to me. I went down on a boat and landed about a quarter of a mile below the mouth of the Wea, on the east side. The overflow of the Wabash had washed away a seeming mound of sand, and there were human bones scattered over a surface about the size of a half-acre, and the bones were about as thick as corn stalks in a corn field. Most of the bones were broken. It seemed that the Wabash had just about washed down to the position of the dead and in one instance we found the legs, and with a stick scratched out all the bones of the upper extremities and head. The body seemed to be with head to the west. There were scattered around a large number of pieces of deer horns, and many burned rocks and shells. This was undoubtedly the site of an Indian village, and it was just across the river from where Ft. Ouiatenon had been. Just below Ouiatenon, on the west side of the Wabash, a ditch was lately dug through a sand ridge, and many bones and Indian relics found. A few years ago at this point a front bone of the arm was found with a silver bracelet on it. There is no doubt that the land just below the mouth of the Wea was a scene of great activity in the early days, because of the many relics, bones

and things used by the people found there. Part of an oven, the shape and all preserved, has been found."

This Indian village was in existence from early in the eighteenth century, probably before 1718. According to the best evidences (cf. Dillon, *Indiana*, pp. 262, 401-403, and Dunn, *Indiana*, pp. 49-50) the principal village was two or three miles lower down the river on the same side. As Indian villages were not very substantial, the relatively large population centering around the rapids which marked the head of navigation for the larger boats, may well have shifted from place to place. Certainly at many times there was a large number of Indians living on the site where these bones have been unearthed. Largely on this account the French fort of Ouiatenon was established (about 1720) at this part of the river on the opposite side. The French post probably drew an increased Indian population. We hear of Kickapoos and Musquattimes dwelling on the west side very near the fort. The Weas were chiefly on the east side and their warriors were at times estimated as high as a thousand or twelve hundred. Trade in furs and skins was carried on here on a large scale, being valued between 1764 and 1775 at something like £8,000 annually.

The small French post, as is well known, came into the possession of the English after the French and Indian War. During Pontiac's conspiracy the little garrison was taken captive and held as prisoners by the Indians of the neighborhood, who were inclined to be friendly themselves, but yielded to this extent to the plans of the other Indians. The post apparently was not re-established and the stockade with its dozen or so enclosed dwellings soon decayed. The site is now marked by a monument.

About ten or twelve years later most of the Indians were gathered in a village (Kath-tip-e-ca-nunk) some eighteen miles up the river on the west side. During the troubles with the Indians which arose after the American conquest of the Northwest, these towns were raided by the Americans. Full reports of the raids of Brigadier-Generals Scott and Williamson in 1791, in which comparatively few Indians were killed, but in which their towns, including the one in question, were destroyed, can be read in Dillon's *History of Indiana*, pp. 263-5, 271.

THE BEGINNINGS OF IRVINGTON.

FROM NOTES BY SYLVESTER JOHNSON.

By Request.

IN Sulgrove's History of Indianapolis and Marion County, pp. 620-1, a brief history is given of Irvington, until recently a suburb, now a part of the city of Indianapolis.

One of the original promoters of the town, Mr. Sylvester Johnson, is now living at an advanced age in Irvington, and it may not be superfluous to complete the account there given by facts recited by Mr. Johnson or gleaned from the records.

Much of the land now occupied by Irvington, about four and a half miles east of the center of Indianapolis, was entered from the government by John Hendricks, January 14th, 1826. The central quarter section, lying along the National Road, belonged in 1870 to the Sanduskys, then living in Louisville, Ky., and was used as a dairy farm. In that year, on June 30th, it was bought by Jacob Julian and Sylvester Johnson, both of Centerville, Ind., for \$100 an acre, or a total of \$32,000. The tract is now bounded by Michigan street on the north, Arlington avenue on the east, Ritter avenue on the west and a line from 300 to 400 feet north of the Brookville pike on the south. It was bought with the purpose of laying out a suburban town.

The town was laid out November 7th, 1870, with the name Irvington, given by Mr. Julian, at the suggestion of his daughter, Mary Julian Downey, in honor of Washington Irving. In the meanwhile Mr. Johnson had visited Glendale (near Cincinnati), perhaps the best known suburban town in this part of the country at that time, and had got the idea of winding streets, which has become the best known characteristic of Irvington. The tract was laid out with the plan of having the streets run along the low places, leaving the higher locations for building lots. Julian and Johnson avenues were run along one of the pronounced lines of drainage. A provision, copied by Mr. Johnson from Colorado Springs, Colo., was inserted in the deeds prohibiting the location of any distillery, brewery or other offensive es-

tablishment, and the selling or permitting the sale of intoxicating liquors except for medicinal or industrial purposes on any of the property on penalty of reversion of the ground to the original owner or his heirs. This provision had been attacked in Colorado and had been upheld by the State and the United States courts. Another provision forbade the location of stables, hog-pens, etc., within fifty feet of any street, not an unimportant provision, as the plan of the town left no place for alleys. Two circles, one at the intersection of University avenue and Audubon Road and the other just north of the National Road, were set aside for public purposes, the former under the title Irving Circle and the latter College Circle.

Mr. James Downey, a son-in-law of Mr. Jacob Julian, moved to the proposed town and built there in 1871. Mr. Julian and Mr. Johnson also began to build in 1871 and moved to their new residences in 1872. Dr. Levi Ritter bought the land to the west of the new town and laid out an addition shortly after. The town was soon incorporated. The present railroad station was secured in 1872, and with that the new town was fairly launched.

INDIANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY CIRCULAR.

[The following is the first circular issued by the Indiana Historical Society, a copy of which is now in the possession of Vincennes University.]

INDIANAPOLIS, ———, 1831.

MY DEAR SIR: The preceding abstract from the Constitution and Proceedings of the "Indiana Historical Society" exhibits an index of its character and will, it is hoped, attract your favorable regard. In pursuance of the general objects of the society and in obedience to its resolutions, the corresponding secretary has the honor to address you, respectfully soliciting such aid, information and patronage as it may be in your power to afford. All communications addressed to the undersigned at Salem, Washington county, Indiana, will be gratefully received, and whenever necessary, promptly acknowledged.

I have the honor to remain, with sentiments of respect, your obedient servant,

JOHN H. FARNHAM.
Corresponding Secretary.

INDIANA QUARTERLY MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

Indiana State Library, Indianapolis

Published by the Indiana Historical Society

CHRISTOPHER B. COLEMAN, *Editor*

EDITORIAL.

HISTORICAL SOCIETIES.

The finished product of historical work has always proved deeply interesting when presented by such masters as Bancroft, Prescott, Parkman or Rhodes. The work of individual research, also, which lies at the bottom of all historical work of value, possesses a strong attraction for any one who embarks in it, no matter whether at some obscure point or in some highly important and widely known question. Cooperative historical work, however, has not yet received as much recognition in this country as it should; not nearly so much as it has for a long time received in Europe. The reasons are not far to seek. We have not yet realized the importance and the magnitude of the task of preserving our history. There are not yet enough great questions among us whose satisfactory solution has become forever impossible owing to the loss of material bearing upon them; not enough documents lost whose importance, increased by time and the destruction of other evidence, stimulates the effort to preserve other documents and collect other evidence which we still possess. Moreover, the subject matter with which the historian deals is so comprehensive and yet so elusive that cooperation is not always possible. Astronomers have planned with comparative ease cooperative schemes of work in which most of the great observatories and scores of astronomers will probably be engaged for generations. Scientists can deal with animate nature even with more or less fixed and arbitrary divisions. But the record of men's thoughts and doings is so complex and the subject so uncertain that no one can hope to call history an exact science. The channels, accordingly, by which it is produced re-

main as yet for the most part for a few individual workers to dig out.

The need of cooperative work, however, is very apparent. There are questions whose solution, unless they are to be left for chance and prejudice to settle, must be answered by historical research. Many phases of our financial policy, numerous political and constitutional developments, race questions, especially those involved in the relation of the races, are probably susceptible of definite answer, if we only had adequate information, information which it is perfectly possible to ascertain, but which can be gotten in full only by the combined efforts of government bureaus and semi-public societies. In every field of historical work there are records lost, there is work undone, both through lack of general interest and through lack of intelligent cooperation. There are some matters covered over and over and some important matters left untouched.

Recently great progress has been made toward better organization of historical work. Perhaps the strongest influence comes from the American Historical Association. This, through its quarterly, *The American Historical Review*, through its annual meetings, through its numerous and effective committees, has not only done much to introduce better methods of teaching history, but has stimulated the collection of materials and has undertaken more or less systematic cooperative work. As its membership is open to practically all who are interested in history, upon payment of a slight fee, it embraces both well-known historians and amateurs. Its president for the year 1908, Professor George B. Adams, of Yale University, also the chairman of the board of editors of *The American Historical Review*, has long been active in promoting the ends of the association. The association has two considerable prizes at its disposal, the Justin Winsor prize and the Herbert Baxter Adams prize, awarded annually through committees for original work in the field of American and European history. Among the more important committees are the Historical Manuscripts Commission, Public Archives Commission (at present at work on the archives of

the Republic of Texas), and committees on bibliography and on publications.

The Carnegie Institute, endowed by Mr. Carnegie to encourage and systematize original work in all fields, has an historical department. Professor J. Franklin Jameson, formerly of the University of Chicago, is at the head of this work. Among the tasks being undertaken under his direction are the collection and publication of matter from European archives bearing upon American history and the preparation of bibliographies of materials in the State library of each State in the Union dealing with the economic development of that State and of the country at large. Some of this work will doubtless prove comparatively barren, a mere heaping of document upon document, of title upon title. But at least it will be done and the path of the future investigator will be made easier.

Interesting developments have taken place in the historical circles of the middle West within the last few months in the direction of the organizations of new agencies. Last year at Cincinnati a two-days' conference was held, in connection with which the Ohio Valley Historical Association was organized. This interstate movement, originating chiefly at Cincinnati, aims to have regular meetings, and by these, together with the influence of its officers and committees, to quicken the public interest in the history of the Ohio Valley. It also proposes to coordinate work done in the different States in matters common to the whole group of States. Several Indiana men attended the first meeting of the society and will probably take part in its subsequent work.

The work of State and local historical societies generally is usually discussed at some session of the annual meeting of the American Historical Association. This session serves, somewhat informally, as a clearing house for these organizations, and has its chairman and secretary who may be considered as officers at large in this line of work. At the last session, in Madison, Wis., the secretary, Professor Evarts B. Greene, of the University of Illinois, reported great progress, especially in the middle West, in appropriations for historical purposes and in new enterprises

undertaken, but showed that appropriations were often not wisely made, that work such as editing was in some cases being badly done, and that there was much waste.

The semi-official report of the last session of this conference, which can be read in *The American Historical Review* for April, 1908, pp. 438-9, is very suggestive. The principal subject was, "The Cooperation of State Historical Societies in the Gathering of Material in Foreign Archives." After considerable discussion a committee of seven was appointed to consider possible schemes of cooperation, consisting of Mr. Dunbar Rowland, director of the Department of Archives and History in Mississippi, chairman; W. C. Ford, E. B. Greene, J. F. Jameson, T. M. Owen, B. F. Shambaugh and R. G. Thwaites. This committee will doubtless have a report which will be of interest to Indiana, in as much as much of our early history is involved in documents which belong also to the history of Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Louisiana and other States.

The cooperation of local historical societies was similarly discussed on the basis of a paper by Mr. John F. Ayer, secretary of the Bay State Historical League, a union of local historical societies in Massachusetts which has apparently been successful in widening the field of work and increasing the membership of the several organizations composing it.

Another organization also came to life at the meeting of the American Historical Association at Madison—the Mississippi Valley Historical Association. The object of this body apparently is to serve as a means of putting into effect plans of cooperation between State historical societies. It is to be made up of men active in these. The executive committee consists of Dr. Thomas M. Owen, president; Professor Clarence W. Alvord, vice president; Clarence S. Paine, secretary-treasurer; Dr. Reuben G. Thwaites and George W. Martin. The Mississippi Valley seems in many ways to afford a more natural and more important grouping of States than the Ohio Valley and though there is doubtless room for the latter for the purpose of holding annual conferences and doing other work, the former is admirably adapted to serve as a basis of cooperation between State societies.

There is danger amid this multiplicity of organizations that the machinery will fairly stifle the workers. There is danger also that magic efficacy may be attributed to societies. It is the individual, and the individual alone, who does the work. He may be helped by associations, but no association ever accomplished anything of itself. It is to be hoped that these recent developments are not simply manifestations of the tendency to organize, but symptoms of the beginning of more active work and more intelligent cooperation.

Meanwhile in Indiana we are making progress. The article by our State Archivist, Dr. Harlow Lindley, in this number, shows that at least one step has been taken in the right direction by the State government. The possibilities of general work are becoming more and more apparent. Many people have been interested in Indiana history. The separate incidents and episodes of that history have been written up unusually well. The early French settlements, the capture of Vincennes by Clark, the political contest for and against slavery, the Indian troubles, and many other chapters are probably as well known as events of similar importance in any State of the Union.

But in many lines of study we have almost everything yet to do. In collections of important original documents and transcripts we are, as has repeatedly been shown, far behind even neighboring States. In the study of some of the most important phases of our history we hardly have the data for beginning work. It is of the utmost importance that broader interest and better cooperation be secured. For instance, the immigration into the State from the time of the American occupation combines perhaps more questions and is of more general interest than any other development. A comprehensive study of it would require the cooperation of State and local historical societies and all other suitable agencies within our borders. With such a combination continued for some time, it would probably be possible to trace all important currents of immigration and point out subsequent tendencies growing out of them. Would it not be possible for the State Historical Society to concentrate the ef-

forts of all historical agencies in the State for a definite period upon such a subject, and while not ignoring other things which individual investigators might in the meantime here and there turn up, devote its publications, its meetings, and its influence chiefly to that one topic? The character of the publications already put out by the State Historical Society challenges comparison with those of any other State. But they have been the result of scattering, individual effort alone, and represent practically the labor of the few men whose names are attached to the various articles. Would not a greater general interest and cooperation be secured by a mass movement upon some one question or set of questions in our history? If a question of present, vital interest, not one of mere antiquarian concern, were chosen, there is no reason why universal cooperation could not be secured. Early internal improvements present a matter of investigation that might well enlist such an effort, especially in view of the present interest in interior waterways and the conservation of natural resources. A practical value of such work would lie in the possibility that future mistakes might be avoided by a clearer understanding of past experience. The study of political parties could nowhere be better prosecuted than in Indiana, which has been for several generations one of their fiercest battlefields. The relation of national politics and local affairs, the influence of national parties upon local government, might very well be made the subject of such a cooperative study as has been suggested.

Our local historical societies apparently need some such stimulus as this. So far as known to this magazine, not more than three or four county historical societies show many signs of activity. Henry, Wayne and Monroe counties especially are simply exceptions to the general lethargy. The trouble seems to be not so much in the inability to do anything or in the lack of means, but in the lack of an interesting and important purpose or of intelligent direction. At times past suggestive meetings at least have been held, and some good publications gotten out by such county organizations as those of Lake and Wabash counties, or such groups as the Northern Indiana Historical Society. A

concerted movement in a common field would probably revive many groups that now resemble extinct volcanoes.

There has been considerable discussion recently of possible co-operation between the State Historical Society and local societies. In our next number we hope to give a short account of the work of these agencies in Wisconsin, which is probably the leading State in the West in this respect. Meanwhile reports from local societies, and contributions of papers produced in them, and discussions of the general subject of these remarks will be welcome.

NOTES.

HENRY COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

The twenty-second annual meeting of this, the most flourishing county historical society in the State of Indiana, was held Thursday, April 30th, 1908, at the Historical Society Building, No. 614 South Fourteenth street, Newcastle. In the printed program a very interesting session was arranged for, including among other numbers presentation of new material for the historical, biographical and portrait collections, and an "illustration exercise of pioneer methods of preparing and spinning flax and wool on the old-time little wheel, and also on the great wheel," by Spiceland township people, who were familiar with the work.

The annual session of the Caroline Scott Harrison Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution was held at the home of Mrs. C. S. Sargent, in Indianapolis, May 14th. The secretary, Mrs. W. C. Buell, reported \$400 now available for a memorial of Mrs. Harrison, for whom the chapter is named, in the Continental Hall at Washington. The registrar, Mrs. W. S. R. Tarkington, reported the present membership as two hundred and fifty, of whom twenty-three are life members.

The Anthony Wayne Memorial Association has been formed at Ft. Wayne with officers as follow: Chairman, Captain H. W.

Dickman; vice-chairman, Captain W. F. Geller; second vice-chairman, Captain Harry Clark; secretary, W. A. Carmer; treasurer, Colonel S. K. Kelker. The object of the association is to petition Congress for an appropriation sufficient to erect on the site of the old fort a suitable memorial building, in which armories may be established for all the military companies in the city, as well as a museum of local history and an assembly-room.

Mr. Jacob P. Dunn, of Indianapolis, has been appointed to special service in collecting information about the languages spoken by the Indian tribes formerly dwelling in this part of the country, under the direction of the National Bureau of Ethnology.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS.

THE HISTORY OF ST. JOSEPH COUNTY, INDIANA.

Timothy E. Howard, formerly on the State Supreme Court Bench, has not ceased working for the State because he no longer holds office. "The History of St. Joseph County" is his latest service to the commonwealth. As president of the Northern Indiana Historical Society Judge Howard has kept alive his interest in literary and historical questions.

It is wise to prepare such a history before the pioneers have passed away and while many of the early written documents are in existence. The field covered by Mr. Howard is a very large one, as can be seen by the two large volumes and the topics discussed: The geology of the county; the early French explorers, Marquette and La Salle; the first settlers; the treaties with the Indians; the incorporation of the county; the history of South Bend; the schools; public improvements; the civil war, with lists of officers and privates; the manufacturing establishments; the biographies.

The most important portions of the history are the narrative of the early settlements, the lists of soldiers, the biographies and the account of the schools, including Notre Dame University. One criticism will stand against this, namely, that not enough consideration is given to the school history. Factories are important, but not so important as education. The part of the work on the biographies of citizens of the county makes up the largest portion of Mr. Howard's labors, and properly, too, because after all, everything centers in men, in individuals.

Mr. Howard has evidently done this work with a loving and sympathetic heart. He is in sympathy with the Indians, with the early settlers in their hard experiences, and with the younger generation in its efforts to improve the commercial and social conditions of the community. There is a good index. Two volumes. 1908: The Lewis Publishing Company, Chicago and New York.

DEMARCHUS C. BROWN.

THE COMMUNITY AND THE CITIZEN.

[By Arthur W. Dunn. Two hundred and sixty-eight pages. Boston, D. C. Heath & Co. 1907.]

A new system of teaching civics has been in process of development in Indianapolis public schools for several years past. A half-year course is now given in the latter part of the eighth grade, and the same or longer period may be given to it in the high schools. With the cooperation and direction of the superintendent of schools, Mr. C. N. Kendall, the work of developing the course of study has been carried on largely by Mr. Arthur W. Dunn, head of the Department of History and Civics in Shortridge High School. "The Community and the Citizen" represents the fairly complete results of Mr. Dunn's effort to construct a line of study at once simple and vital, and unless the reviewer is mistaken, will be instrumental in marking an epoch in this line of work in our public schools.

It is interesting to note that the present conception of the subject is quite different from the idea of civil government which formerly prevailed in the schools. The latter treated only of the organization of local, State and national government, together with instruction upon such subjects as qualification of voters, United States constitution and party politics. The present book treats of all the interests of community life. It is essentially a sort of elementary sociology. Among the chapter headings noted are "The Site of a Community," "The Family," "How the Community Aids the Citizen to Satisfy His Desire for Health," "How the Community Aids the Citizen in Transportation and Communication," "How the Community Aids the Citizen to Satisfy His Desire for Knowledge," "How the Citizens of a Community Govern Themselves," "Some Defects in the Self-Government of Our Communities," "How the Expenses of Government Are Met."

Another notable advance that Mr. Dunn has made is that the pupil is interested in a practical way from the very first in his own immediate surroundings, the water supply, the schools, the city parks, etc., and his further study is made to consist largely of finding out how these things are brought about, and how

they may be improved. It is a trite maxim of teaching that instruction should proceed from the known to the unknown, from the immediate to the remote, but nowhere else has the reviewer found this point of view really carried out in the study of civics. To begin with local government, proceed to State and then to national government, as many text-books of civics do, is not of itself sufficient, for the intricacies of city government, the details of its organization are actually as remote from the pupil, and from the average citizen, alas, as are the agencies of government at Washington. One of the means Mr. Dunn used in the development of his method is local history. To quote the preface.

"A feature of the book is the use made of local history. It is believed that a contribution is made toward the solution of the problem of how to employ local history effectively in the schools. Few local communities have a history that touches the main stream of national history in an intimate way, so that it is difficult to make use of local developments in connection with the history of the United States. Still, every community has a history that may be made instructive."

As can be readily seen, there are difficulties in the way of the new civics. It can not be learned and taught all from the book. A separate text can scarcely be printed for every city and town. And so the Dunn's "Community and the Citizen" can only give an order of developing the subject, general principles, suggestions and illustrations, and the teachers of each city must work out the subject for their own community for and with their pupils. This requires energy and intelligence, requirements that the old method of teaching civics do not usually make. But the work should prove interesting and if thoroughly carried out should prove the most valuable work that can be done in any of our city schools.

The book is copiously illustrated by reproductions of photographs which bring out most excellently points made in the text. Pictures of neat and of slovenly residences, of good and bad streets, of river banks used for dumping grounds contrasted with pictures of river banks made beautiful by roadways and parks tell a very impressive story. Supplemented as they could easily be by photographs made or collected by any teacher in

her own locality, these pictures will enforce a lesson which it is to be hoped will make the American citizen of the future more public spirited and our communities better places to live in than we now enjoy.

C. B. COLEMAN.

GENERAL JOHN TIPTON.

Mr. M. M. Pershing, editor of the *Tipton Advocate*, has recently written and published a sketch of General John Tipton. He briefly summarizes the career of Tipton as soldier, senator and citizen. The description of the march from Corydon to the battlefield of Tippecanoe and the account of the battle itself are enlivened by extracts from Tipton's journal, bad spelling and all. The bitter hatred of Tipton against the Indians is clearly pointed out.

Tipton was a member of the commission which selected the site for the capital of the State. He was afterward a member of the United States Senate (1831-'38), and a leader in the development of the commonwealth.

It is a matter of congratulation that some were thoughtful enough to commemorate him by naming a county Tipton.

Mr. Pershing deserves credit for this work on early Indiana history. (Printed for private circulation.)

Beginnings of Indianapolis School System.—A contribution to educational history that is worthy of especial note is a series of articles by Prof. A. C. Shortridge on the beginnings of the present Indianapolis school system appearing in the *Indianapolis News* under date of March 14, 21 and 28, and April 4 and 11, 1908. Professor Shortridge, now superannuated and long since out of active school work, may fairly be regarded as the father of certain features that make the Indianapolis schools to-day among the best in the country. He became superintendent of the public schools of the city in 1863, and served in that capacity for eleven years, during which the high school, the public library, the Teachers' Training School and education for the negroes were all developed as parts of a growing system. This was at a time when public sentiment was not educated as it is to-day, and it required strenuous and persistent effort to

promote growth. Mr. Shortridge, more than any other man, was instrumental in securing much that is established to-day, and he is the only man now living that can tell the details of much of the educational history of that period. Some things that have remained unrecorded or been recorded erroneously, he now sets forth authoritatively. In preparing his articles for the press Mr. Shortridge has been seriously handicapped, being blind and virtually without assistance. This part of his task has been long preparing, and that he has at last got it into print is a matter for congratulation. Professor Shortridge, now seventy-five years old, is held in honored remembrance in Indianapolis, and "Shortridge High School," of that city, is a monument to him that will carry his name into the future.

Indian History.—Jacob P. Dunn, who is the recognized authority on the Indians of Indiana, has recently published in the *Indianapolis News*, several articles on the aborigines. On the 14th of December last appeared "Little Turtle, of the Miamis;" December 21, "Little Turtle's Rout by Wayne;" January 4, "Indian Witches Burned to Death" (by the Prophet, at the Delaware towns); March 21, "The Defense of Fort Harrison;" April 17, "The Removal of the Potawottomis from Northern Indiana;" April 25, "When Fall Creek Ran with Blood" (the famous hangings at Pendleton for Indian murders); May 23, "The Pigeon Roost Massacre;" May 30, "Logan the Brave Saved Fort Wayne." Most of these themes have been treated before, but Mr. Dunn has considered them with more thoroughness than the casual newspaper writer, and developed some items hitherto unused.

THE INDIANA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

VOL. IV

SEPTEMBER, 1908

No. 3

AUSTIN SEWARD.

Read before the Monroe County Historical Society by H. C. Duncan, March 27, 1908.

IN the Dunn burying-ground in the college [Indiana University] campus is a monument* giving the date of the birth and death of three sisters who sleep within its enclosure. Eleanor Dunn, born in 1754, Jennett Irvin, born in 1761 and Agnes Alexander, born in 1763. Their maiden name was Brewster. They were Scotch Presbyterians, were of the landed Virginia aristocracy, strong patriots, and their father was at the battle of the Cowpens and with General Greene's army in the South. They came to Kentucky in the great Presbyterian hegira about 1783. They were experts in the manufacture of woolen cloth, and during the war their loom was always filled with cloth for the army, and, when it was near enough, they helped to supply the soldiers with food. They all died in this county, widows; the husbands of two died in Kentucky. From these three women descended the Dunns, Alexanders, Searwards and Maxwells of this county.

Jennett Brewster Irvin was the widow of Samuel Irvin, a Revolutionary soldier and of the War of 1812, who died and was buried at Corydon. The story is told that while Irvin was in the war, she was courted by a Mr. Campbell, who asked her hand in marriage but was refused for her soldier lover. After her marriage they all came West, the Campbells settling in the neighborhood of Lexington, Ky., probably in Bourbon county, and the Irvins in Richmond, Madison county. Some of the Campbells moved to this county and were visited by this relative, who here again met his old Virginia sweetheart. But it is only with the Irvin part of the Brewster family this paper deals.

*This monument gives also the dedication of the burying-ground by George G. Dunn. It was erected by Austin Seward, about 1856.

Jane Irvin was the wife of Austin Seward. The Sewards were good people. In early times they came from England and settled in Surry county, Virginia, but subsequently the ancestors of Austin moved to Middlesex county on the south banks of the Rappahannock, in the heart of the landed aristocracy. They were Episcopalians and patriots. Austin Seward's father was John, and his mother Mary Daniel. It is thought she was a relative of the celebrated Daniel family of that State, of whom Senator Daniel is a distinguished member. His grandfather's name was Austin, for whom he was named, and his grandmother Almira Mason, a member of the distinguished Mason family. His oldest child, a daughter, was named Mary for his mother, and his second daughter, Almira, for his grandmother; his oldest son, John, for his father, and his son who died in infancy, Austin, for his grandfather.

John Seward, senior, had two children, Austin, who was born November 22, 1799, and a sister Almira, who was about two years his junior. When they were children his wife died and he remarried, and the stepmother mistreated the children in a way that "only exists in the story books," as a granddaughter expressed it. On account of her cruel and inhuman treatment, when the stepmother was away an aunt—Aunt Sheppard—the mother's sister, carried Almira away and she lived with this aunt and did not join her brother Austin until just prior to the Civil war, when she came to Indiana and made it her home until her death in 1867. It is a tradition in the family told by both Austin and his sister, that the stepmother's cruelty went to the extent of failing to give them enough to eat, both testifying that an old colored "mammy" from her own allowance of corn meal, and the oysters gathered by them from the tide water of the Rappahannock, cooked and fed them in her cabin. They both always insisted these were the best oysters they ever ate.

When Austin was about ten years old the family moved to a farm near Richmond, Ky. His father lived there about two years. The date of his death is not known. He was thought to be a man of very considerable means, at least his dress and manner of living, as remembered by his son Austin, would so indicate, but nothing whatever was realized from his estate by his

children. The home being broken up, Austin was apprenticed to learn blacksmithing. While learning the trade, shoeing a vicious horse, he was injured, causing a lameness from which he never recovered. He then learned edge-tool making with Anderson Wood, a noted toolmaker of Richmond, Ky., for whom he worked about two years.

On May 18, 1817, near Richmond, Ky., he was married to Jane Irvin, a daughter of Samuel Irvin and of Jennett Brewster Irvin, one of the colonial dames buried in the Dunn burying-ground. Samuel Irvin operated a tanyard about three miles from Richmond, was a prosperous, well-to-do citizen, lived in a large frame house and gave his daughters the best that Kentucky at that time afforded. They were fairly well educated, were skilled in all kinds of domestic and culinary labors, moved in the best society, and were well prepared to adorn a home and grace a cabin or a mansion.

Austin set up a shop at Hay's Ford on Silver creek about seven miles from Richmond, worked at the trade for about a year, then moved to Richmond and went to work in the shop of Argo & Caldwell as an edge-tool maker. His skill and reputation combined, enabled him to command the highest wages as a journeyman. The descendants of the other two colonial dames had moved to Indiana and had settled in and about Bloomington. There Mr. Seward paid them a visit in 1821. He learned the position they occupied in the new community, the influence they exerted, judged of the possible assistance they might render in a new country, and concluded to cast his lot with his kinsmen in the New Purchase. He arrived at Bloomington with his wife and two eldest children in September, 1821, moved into a vacant cabin on what is now the Oursler lots, which they occupied temporarily and soon moved into a pretentious building consisting of a double cabin, a loft and a lean-to, situated on the lot now occupied by the Batman building on the southwest corner of Seventh and Walnut streets. He immediately built a log shop on the same lot, in which he began his labor of supplying the wants of the community. The log shop was used until a new one was built on the east side of Walnut street in 1825. This was a one-story brick building of four rooms and is still stand-

ing, although with an added second story; one room was the gunsmith shop; one was used for storing material and for operating the lathe; one for grindstone and emery wheels and in the fourth was the blacksmith shop with three forges. It is thought this was the third brick house erected in Bloomington, preceded only by the old brick near Karsell's mill and the Maxwell, afterwards the Lucas House, burned some twenty years ago, situate just north of the alley on the west side of College avenue, between Sixth and Seventh streets. The brick was made and burned in Walnut street in front of Mrs. W. O. Fee's residence, wood cut on the neighboring lots supplying the fuel. There was a wooden structure built on the east side in which there was a horse-power for operating the lathe, grindstones and emery wheels that were used for polishing axes, scythes and other implements as required. As business kept on increasing, demands were made for more room, greater and larger facilities, and these an honest effort was always made to supply. Up to 1842 or 1843, Mr. Seward had only made forged articles such as were first heated and then formed on the anvil, but in a new country the plow proposition was always up. About that time a new plow called the "Peacock," from the name of the inventor, came on the market. I remember them very well. It had a steel share, wrought bar and cast mould board. In that day it was *the* plow, somewhat after the fashion of the Oliver of the present day. The Virginia furnace had been started on the west side of the county and it was hoped iron would be secured there to make and supply the demand for the Peacock plow. To that end Mr. Seward installed a foundry for the manufacture of all kinds of castings, the blast being supplied by horse-power. The use of this power was continued until 1854, when it was superseded by steam, which was used from that time on. The shop was enlarged, a foundry built, more forges installed and the capacity increased. In the early days but little money was paid for labor, or for the products of the field or shop. A system of exchange was established. The river—Louisville—was the market, and in order to dispose of the products received and exchanged for the products of the shop, he had a four-horse wagon made named "The Great Western," which made regular trips to the river, his

supplies and goods for the merchants being brought back on the return trips. This wagon was started in an early day and continued to run until the advent of the railroad in 1853.

A list of the articles manufactured and a schedule of the work done by Austin Seward would now be impossible. In order to get even a general idea, the location, the people, the country, the time and its needs must be considered. Bloomington is an inland town. Clear creek, Salt creek and White river could carry away the products of the county at certain seasons of the year, going with the current, but there were no boats plying any of these streams against the current. There were no canals accessible. The only way any kind of manufactured products could reach this locality was by wagon, and that during almost six months of the year, with great difficulty and often not at all. Austin Seward was a worker in metal. He was a blacksmith, a foundry man, a gunsmith, and, most of all, an edge-tool maker. A heavy forest was to be subdued and axes were required. A good ax is the work of an artist. It is said that some one told Henry Thoreau, in reply to some of his cynicisms, that it took civilization two hundred years to develop his ax. It took centuries to develop a Peacock plow. He could make them both. Over every fireplace hung a rifle gun. He made them. He hammered, bored and rifled the barrel from bar iron; made the locks, flint-locks at that, made the double triggers, cut a segment of a slick quarter* for the front sight, rounded out and set the hind sight, made the bullet moulds, stocked it with curly sugar wood, all with his own hands, and no gun could beat his for looks or business. But, as I said, a catalogue of the articles of his handiwork, the products of his shop, would be a catalogue of everything used in Indiana in which iron or steel entered. He made adzes, augers, braces, bits, bells, scythes, files, guns, knives, axes, sickles, shears—sheep shears being a specialty—plows, wagons, carts, horseshoes, horseshoe nails; he shod horses, mules and oxen, and, after his foundry was established, made threshing machines, stoves, skillets, sugar kettles, pots and cane mills. In 1861 he made and mounted a brass cannon. There are certain things at which he excelled. No better axes were ever

*A "slick quarter" was the old Spanish twenty-five cent piece worn smooth by much use.

made than came from his shop. They were forged on his anvils from bar iron and cast steel. It may be of interest to know that his old books show that a Mr. Barnes was credited by him with ax bar iron $3\frac{1}{2}$ by $\frac{5}{8}$ at 8 1-3 cents a pound, and cast steel at 30 cents. It was all hauled from Louisville in wagons.

His axes had a reputation which extended for miles. His son, W. B. Seward, informs me that he has known men to come horseback for more than one hundred miles to get an ax. Then he upset and resteeled axes, and, like Burns's good woman, made them "most as good as new." Captain Fields, whom we all knew and remember, used to tell that when he was a boy, his father lived some sixty or seventy-five miles away from Bloomington; that he intended sending him to Mr. Seward's shop to get an ax upset. When it became noised through the country that he was going on this mission, the neighbors all brought their axes until he had as many axes to bring as he had miles to travel. And Seward's axes in looks compared with any "brought on," and in quality excelled them. He knew how to temper. The ax, the chopping ax, must be a certain shape and must be properly hung or it is no good. The steel must be heated just so hot. Nobody can tell how hot. Austin Seward knew. He had many journeymen who made axes in his shop, but of all he would yield the palm to but one man, a dissolute, drunken genius, named Richardson, who worked for him for years and whose presence was only tolerated by reason of his great and peculiar skill. William F. Browning says, "Nobody could equal Seward in making an ax, but Richardson; he could beat him." He was a great gunsmith and was the best offhand shot in the country. Charcoal was used exclusively in his forges and foundry until "stone coal," as it was called, was brought by rail. There was a wood-working department at which wagons were built, plows stocked and such other woodwork done as was necessary to turn out the finished product. The relation he and his business bore to the community is illustrated by what his old friend, Dr. Andrew Wylie, said when it was reported he was about to die. "This community," said Dr. Wylie, "can better spare any man in it, or the college every professor than it can spare Mr. Seward. We can get other citizens and college professors to

take their places without any trouble, but no man can take his place."

As a business man he would not be considered a success. In fact, as the world now looks on business, he was not a business man—certainly not in a financial way. With a genius for manufacturing, with a reputation he so early and justly acquired, with the business he had without competition, many men would have acquired a fortune. His sons, and he had a number of them, all were mechanics, supplementing him and each other. His oldest son, John, was a born machinist and an edge-tool maker. He could pattern anything on the anvil. He could and did command the highest wages. James was a blacksmith pure and simple. At the ordinary work on the anvil and at the forge it is said he could not be excelled. The same thing could be said of Robert. W. B. was a patternmaker. Irvin, a machinist, who always ran the lathe. Bricen, a gunsmith, and so on. In his own family he had the men necessary to carry on an extensive manufacturing business. When John became of age he was taken into partnership by his father; subsequently James was taken in, but no settlements or invoice made. They just stepped in. John concluded to try a new field of labor and just stepped down and out. Still no settlements, no adjustment. W. B. got old enough, the door opened and in he came on the same terms. The father feeling the infirmities of age, quit on the same terms, and William H., son of W. B., stepped in and took up the labors and assumed his share of the responsibilities and went ahead. No books were kept or settlements had as between the partners. They kept on in the same old Seward name with but slight variations as to "Sons," "Brothers" or "Company." And what is more remarkable, from the time that Austin Seward started his shop in 1821 until this time—eighty-six years, the establishment never failed, never settled with its creditors, never went into bankruptcy, never assigned, never was sued, and never sued except to collect an old account or to take judgment on a long past due note.

John, it is reported, said of his father, that if he had but one plow for sale and two came for it, one with the money and the other without, the latter got it. His reason was that a man with

money could buy a plow any place—the man without, couldn't. It was his Christian duty to help the helpless.

Of Austin Seward's domestic life much could be said. His wife was the daughter of a colonial dame. She had many relatives among the best of the community with whom she and her husband were on terms of the closest intimacy. They lived in the log cabin until 1828 when the old brick at the southwest corner of Seventh and Walnut streets—now the Batman block—was built and occupied as the family residence. At the time that was the most consequential house in town. It was brick, had two stories, and, what no other house aspired to or presumed to enjoy, it had a hall. In that house they lived until Mrs. Seward's death in 1865. They always kept open house. No one went from his door hungry. His business was large. He employed journeymen and always had apprentices. The latter always made his house their home, as well as nearly all the unmarried journeymen. They all ate at his table, sat at his fireside and slept in his beds. Of the patrons from a distance, nearly all stayed with him if their business kept them over night, while his neighbors or friends, who called on business or pleasure and were there at noon, stayed and took dinner. In "setting the table," there were always two extra plates laid for such as "just dropped in"—all without money and without price. Their table was always well supplied from the products of the country, exchanged for the products of the shop. Each, in fact, was a legal tender and freely taken in exchange for the other.

Their condition in life was as their neighbors. They endured the hardships and privations of the early pioneers. The household appointments were of the most primitive kind. Wearing apparel was largely home spun and made up in the house by women who came to sew. The household labors, cooking, washing, ironing and sewing fell wholly on such of the women of the household as were large enough to take up its burdens, with such help as could be procured in a new country. These labors—the labor of caring for a large household, besides caring for and rearing a family of nine children who grew to maturity, and two who died in infancy—made Mrs. Seward prematurely old and broken, although she always maintained a sunny and happy

disposition, looked well and faithfully to the household duties, and was indeed a helpmeet. She was well informed on all the issues of the day, was an authority on matters of history, and was reputed to be one of the most handsome women in the New Purchase.

Austin Seward was born in the center of the Virginia aristocracy holding to the Episcopalian church, and was baptized in that faith. When he emigrated to Kentucky he settled among Scotch Presbyterians and married into a family of Presbyterians; became a member of that faith, lived and died in it. He was intensely, but not demonstratively religious. In his own cabin he established and set up an altar at which he had family worship during the whole of his life, and in this cabin conducted the first Sunday-school in Bloomington. He was superintendent, treasurer, secretary, teacher—in fact everything, and rejoiced that he had for his pupils two governors of Indiana, Whitcomb and Wright, both of whom became also United States Senators.

On the separation of the Presbyterians into the old and new school, Austin Seward affiliated with the latter, and for years was a ruling elder. The "new school" church was the frame building just west of the Bowles Hotel, now occupied by the colored people. He was a regular attendant on all the ministrations of the church, led in prayer at the prayer-meetings and in the absence of the regular minister conducted the services. For years he took and read *The New York Observer* and *Christian Herald*, both Presbyterian papers, and had on his library table Scott's Commentaries, Barnes's Notes (this he originally took as a serial), besides many other religious works. The spare bedroom in his house was especially set apart to the priesthood, or rather the traveling preachers, and by the family was known as the "apostles' room." It took an overflow to profane that room to sacrilegious uses by permitting it to be occupied by any other than a member of the cloth. Until the day of his death he remained steadfast in the faith once delivered to the saints.

The Swards and Brewsters were slave-owners in Virginia, although both families were opposed to the institution. Austin Seward was a Henry Clay Whig, and one of the many who went

into mourning on his idol's defeat in 1844. In 1843 he was a candidate for the legislature on the Whig ticket—the only time he was ever a candidate for office, but was defeated after a dirty and scurrilous campaign that reflected neither honor nor credit on his competitor or his supporters. On the disruption of the Whig party, he went naturally into the Republican party and remained in it to his death. He voted for Fremont in 1856. His house in those days was a sort of an impromptu Republican headquarters, while the pavement in front of his house was a typical town meeting. His early political teachings he received from the *Louisville Journal* at the feet of George D. Prentice. From that he went to the *Cincinnati Gazette* and the *Indianapolis Journal*. He also took the *Scientific American* and an agricultural paper. He always read the papers and skipped nothing, nearly always reading by candle-light which he held between himself and his paper. He was intensely loyal during the war. Every fiber of his being and every prayer of his heart was for a successful prosecution of the war and preservation of the Union. He and his friends furnished the material and he made and mounted a brass six-pound cannon which was used by the government during the war. The good, loyal people of the community, more especially the women, donated their old brass kettles, their brass andirons and candlesticks, and some women, extra zealous in the cause, contributed their brass hoopskirts, all of which was melted and moulded into this cannon. Two of his sons, with his consent and his blessings and with his prayers, were given to the Union army. The combination of his religious and political nature was such that during the war he literally observed all fast days and at all times observed all days of thanksgiving.

He and his family were musicians. He organized and was leader of the first band ever organized in Bloomington,—and for that matter in the New Purchase. To this from time to time all of his sons belonged. He built, at his own expense, a house for band practice, which was used also for years as a sort of dormitory for the shop hands.

He was a man of great industry. Carrying on his shop took no little time and attention. There was much to be seen after,

but he attended to it all and did also a man's work at the forge. When the new shop was built, one of the forges was his. When it was reconstructed and enlarged, he had his forge and kept it as long as he was connected with the business. During all of these years of labor—of hard labor—his hand never forgot its cunning.

In appearance Austin Seward was fair, had blue eyes, brown curly hair, was about five feet ten and a half inches high, slender and active, and notwithstanding his lameness, could get about with the best. His early education was limited, but by extensive reading and close observation, he became a fair scholar and a man of great and varied information. He could transact all of his business, conduct his correspondence and keep his books. That he was an ignorant man is disproved by the fact that on the establishment of the State Board of Agriculture in 1851, one of his old Sunday-school scholars, Governor Joseph A. Wright, appointed him a member, a position he honorably and satisfactorily filled. He was not a good speller; for instance, his son, W. B., tells me that in looking over his old books a few days ago, he found where he had charged a customer with a s-p-a-i-d.

He claimed among his most intimate friends and associates, the educated and most intelligent men of the community. He hunted and shot with Braynard R. Hall and Dr. David H. Maxwell; talked theology, philosophy and "shop" with Dr. Andrew Wylie; talked politics and discussed the affairs of State with Governor Whitcomb; agriculture and mechanics with Governor Wright, and heard gladly the humor, satire and eloquence of his kinsman, George Grundy Dunn, all of whom in a social way and as his equals, sat at his fireside and broke bread at his table.

From the time Austin Seward opened his shop in 1821 to the present time, their relations with labor have been the most friendly. There have been no strikes, boycotts or any other labor trouble. In the early days—in fact until recent years—there were always apprentices. I know now of but one living, William J. Alexander, commonly known as "Jim" Alexander, who worked with him for a quarter of a century, and who told me about Mr. and Mrs. Seward from the viewpoint of an apprentice and as a

journeyman. His statement is substantially as follows: Mr. Seward's apprentices served him four years, at a very meager wage, as was the custom in those days; but then they always came through as skilled workmen and able to earn the highest wages. They did not stay in and about the shop in a perfunctory way, doing the drudgery of the shop, the house and the stable, but were taught all that pertained to the trade. They made their home with his family, while Mrs. Seward herself saw they were properly supplied with clothing, that it was kept in good repair, and that their physical wants were supplied the same as those of her own children. The hours of labor were long—no eight or ten hours a day was recognized—but journeymen and apprentices were always given the benefit of all work done overtime. Mr. Seward was idolized and revered by every man in his employ, while Mrs. Seward was always by every "cub" and "jour" affectionately called "Mammy."

"Austin Seward was the biggest hearted man I ever saw. He made money—it was no trouble for him to make money, but he never collected, or if collected, it was given away," was his language. Mr. Seward was one of the largest subscribers for stock to the railroad, now the Monon, paid every dollar of it and all of it was lost. Soon after the old college was burned. Money was raised to save that and he was one of the heaviest contributors. That, too, was a total financial loss, but the university was retained. When on the separation of the Presbyterian church into the old and the new school, he went into the latter, he gave \$500 toward buying a new church; the one which is now occupied by the A. M. E. Church just west of the Bowles Hotel. "Mammy" Seward afterwards said the hardest times she ever went through were when they had the loss by the railroad and made the donations to the college and to buying the church.

Before the advent of the railroad, the traveling was by horseback. All kinds of preachers stopped with him. Before they would go, one of the boys in the shop would be told to get out the horse, examine its hoofs, if not shod or if needing new shoes, to put them on—put it back in the stable and nothing said about it. If a man wanted an implement to work with he always got it

whether he had money or not. The boys who tended his team told him the corn was going too fast—in short, somebody was stealing it. Mr. Seward remonstrated with him for making such insinuations, saying that as long as he had corn, and any one hadn't it, he could get it by coming to him. The boys were insistent—some corn was arranged so that any disturbance would be noticed, and a single night verified their statement. A hole had been made in the door for the benefit of the cats. Mr. Seward fixed some kind of a trap and fastened it inside, locked the door, but left the hole for the cats. The next morning he found a man fast, unloosed him, filled his basket with corn, told him whenever he wanted any more to come to him and get all he wanted. One or two of the boys knew all about it, but he enjoined on them strict secrecy and never told it himself. At another time "Mammy" Seward found some one—a respectable man—stealing. She filled his basket and to assist him in concealing the crime, covered it with cobs and was terribly outraged at some of the boys who had been watching and knew of the theft.

When he first moved here he was universally called Seward, pronounced the usual way, but for some unknown reason, the name got changed to *Seward*, with the *e* pronounced as long *e* and bearing the accent. An old paper in the hands of this society shows two advertised uncalled-for letters addressed to him under the phonetic spelling, A. C. Ward. It was no uncommon thing to see his name spelled in this way.

All of the family have died but two—Williamson Brewster, an honored member of our society and citizen of the State, and Robert D., who after fifty years' work at the anvil, with the respect and confidence of everybody, is now enjoying the rest he so well deserves and has so well earned. Austin Seward himself died October 27, 1872, and is buried in the Dunn burying-ground beside his wife and her sisters.

Braynard R. Hall, a Presbyterian preacher of Philadelphia, a graduate of Princeton, opened the State Seminary—the forerunner of the State University—in 1824, and remained until 1831. In 1843 he published a work in two volumes, entitled "The New

Purchase, or Seven Years in the Far West" under the *non de plume* of Robert Carleton. It is a very readable book, and, while largely overdrawn, gives a fair representation of this locality at that time. It is true, he puts impossible and unheard of language into the mouths of his characters and generally caricatures the people. He was a scholarly man, an eloquent preacher, but on account of trouble with Dr. Andrew Wylie, left in a huff and never was again reconciled to the country or the people. Every one except members of his own family, Dr. David H. Maxwell and Mr. Seward were ridiculed and lampooned. He gave all assumed names. Dr. Maxwell was Dr. Sylvanus and Mr. Seward was Vulcanus Allheart. To the latter is devoted a whole chapter of his book—the only man to whom was given a chapter. His enthusiastic and generous estimate of Mr. Seward's life and character can be summed up in his closing paragraph: "He was by birth a Virginian, by trade a blacksmith, by nature a gentleman, and by grace a Christian; if more need be said, he was a genius."

HENRY CLAY AT RICHMOND.

THE ABOLITION PETITION.

[The following articles are the latest, and among the best, discussions of Clay's visit to Richmond in 1842, his speech there, and the presentation of a petition asking him to free his own slaves. A careful reading will show that they differ very little in matters of fact, though taking opposite views of the dignity and appropriateness of the conduct of the leading actors.

The first article was originally printed in the *Indianapolis News*, August 24, 1901, and the second was printed at the instance of Judge M. L. Bundy in the *Henry County Tribune*, Spiceland and Newcastle, Ind., January 10, 1908.—EDITOR.]

Charles W. Osborn's Article.

IN the autumn of 1842, Henry Clay, of Kentucky, an aspirant to the presidency, in the course of an electioneering tour, came to Richmond, Ind., and on October 1 spoke to a large concourse of people.

While on the platform and in the presence of the audience, Hiram Mendenhall presented to Clay a petition asking him to liberate his slaves. Clay, in his answer, told Mendenhall to go home and mind his own business. Mendenhall's action in this case has been severely censured. He has been regarded as a kind of gadfly, seeking an opportunity to torment the great statesman in the presence of his political friends. Clay's speech at Richmond has been regarded as a political blunder that cost him the loss of the presidency in 1844. Most of those who have written upon the subject seem to be ignorant of some of the facts connected with the case.

Judge Bundy, of Newcastle, in an article in the *Indianapolis Journal* some two years ago, says the speech made the foundation for a third party of political abolitionists, who nominated James G. Birney, who received votes enough in New York alone to defeat Clay. The Liberty party existed before Clay's speech at Richmond, and Birney received 7,000 votes for President in 1840. The party was organized in Indiana in February, 1841, and delegates appointed to attend the convention that nominated

Birney in 1844. It would be difficult to determine the cause or causes that increased the abolition vote from 7,000 in 1840 to over 62,000 in 1844. This vote was drawn more largely from the Whigs than from the Democrats, because the former were more anti-slavery than the latter. Clay was a slave-holder, and in his "Alabama" letter favored the slave-holding measure of the annexation of Texas under certain conditions. These two things did more, doubtless, to alienate from him the anti-slavery Whigs than his speech at Richmond.

Addison C. Harris, late minister to Austria, in an article published in the *American Friend*, of November 6, 1896, under the title of "A Quaker Episode," attributes the petition to a few so-called anti-slavery Quakers, mostly living at Newport, north of Richmond, who advocated the doctrine of immediate and unconditional emancipation, and who refused to be switched off of this main track of abolitionism by the unjust and impracticable colonization dodge. That these Quakers on learning that Clay was to speak in Richmond on Saturday before the great Sunday of the Indiana Yearly Meeting, prepared a petition, got it numerously signed, placed it in the hands of one of their number named Mendenhall to be presented privately to Clay on Friday evening previous to the speaking, but failing to gain his presence, presented it publicly upon the platform the next day. There is much error in this account. The petition originated in the Indiana State Anti-Slavery Society, an organization wholly undenominational but numbering perhaps more Friends or Quakers than any other one denomination. An annual meeting of this society was held at Newport (now Fountain City), beginning September 5, 1842, and continuing four days. The attendance was too large for the Friends' meeting-house, and they adjourned to a grove fitted up for the occasion. On the first day of the convention it was "On motion resolved that a committee of three be appointed to prepare a petition to be presented to Henry Clay, of Kentucky, when he shall arrive at Richmond, in his visit to this State as contemplated the present season, calling on him to liberate his slaves, and that H. H. Way, Daniel Worth, Peter Crocker and Israel French constitute a committee to present it.

"Resolved, That Matthew R. Hull, Benjamin Stanton and Ziba Casterline constitute a committee to draft said petition."

At the afternoon session I find this record:

"The committee to prepare a petition to Henry Clay presented one, which was adopted, and is as follows:

"To Henry Clay:

"We, the undersigned citizens of Indiana, in view of the declarations of rights contained in the charter of American Independence, in view of that justice that is due from man to his fellow-man; in view of all those noble principles which should characterize the patriot, the philanthropist and the Christian, ask you most respectfully to "unloose the heavy burdens," and that you let the oppressed under your control who call you master go free. By doing so you would give liberty to whom liberty is due, and do no more than justice to those under your charge, who have long been deprived by you of the sacred boon of freedom; and set an example that would result in much good to suffering and debased humanity, and do an act altogether worthy a great and good man.'"

Immediately following the petition is this resolution:

"Resolved, That should Henry Clay refuse to emancipate his slaves, the committee to present the petition be instructed to request him to give his reasons for so refusing."

Clay attended a very large Whig convention at Dayton, O., on September 29, which declared for him for President in 1844, and came on to Richmond, where he was to speak Saturday, October 1. That the petition might be presented publicly, and that violence had been threatened to the committee of presentation, is evident from an editorial in the *Free Labor Advocate and Anti-Slavery Chronicle*, of Newport, under date of September 24, 1842, in answer to the *Richmond Palladium's* statement that it would be wrong and an insult to Clay to present such a petition on his visit to Indiana. The *Advocate and Chronicle* says:

"We hear there are great threats of violence if the committee should attempt to present the petition; and the *Palladium* plainly intimates an expectation of that kind, but professes to discourage it, and acknowledge that a violent opposition would be as bad as the presentation of the petition itself."

The committee on presentation, in making its report, says: "The first object of your committee was to make themselves acquainted with the time that would be most convenient on the part of Henry Clay for their reception. They accordingly addressed him the appended note: 'Richmond, October 1, 1842. To Henry Clay—We, who are appointed a committee, by a large convention of people, to present a petition to Henry Clay, signed by near two thousand citizens of Indiana, respectfully ask him to communicate the hour that such interview would be most convenient. Signed, Daniel Worth, Peter Crocker, Hiram Mendenhall and Samuel Mitchell.' The last two names were substituted in the place of H. H. Way and Israel French, who were absent. The note was presented to Ervin Reed, one of the Clay committee of arrangements, by Mendenhall and Mitchell."

Daniel Worth had no further hand in the presentation of the petition, and in explanation of the fact in a letter dated October 13 and published in the *Advocate and Chronicle* of October 29, says: "It is said to be currently reported in certain quarters that I had too much prudence to make the presentation myself, but was willing to shift it off on friend Mendenhall, who was not known as a member of the committee." Worth further states, "that the reception committee informed them that it was Clay's wish to receive them at his hotel on Sunday morning; that he could not possibly see them sooner, to which they assented and their committee separated. A few minutes later James Rariden announced from the stand to the immense multitude that if the abolitionists had any request to make to Mr. Clay, or paper to present to him, it was Clay's wish that it should be done publicly and on that occasion, that he might give a public answer thereto and make a public declaration of his sentiments on this delicate subject."

Worth says, being separated from the other members of the committee, with little chance of finding them in the immense crowd, and being inclined to look upon Rariden's language as a boast, he made no attempt to find the rest of the committee; that in the meantime the other members of the committee (Crocker, Mendenhall and Mitchell), having obtained proximity to the stand from which Rariden was speaking, and consulting him

further on the subject, went and brought the papers and presented them. "This is the reason why Mr. Mendenhall presented the memorial, and I am glad it was in such good hands. I believe this was an arrangement made to defeat the committee in presenting the petition and disingenuous on the part of its authors." Another version of the sudden change of the time and manner of presenting the petition is that it was discussed on the platform by Clay's personal friends, and that one of them, of the type known as fire-eaters, said let the abolitionists present their petition now and publicly and then give them hell; and that his counsel prevailed, and the first part at least of his program carried out. Mendenhall said the reason he carried the petition to Clay was because neither Crocker nor Mitchell would volunteer to do it.

Mendenhall was a fit person to work his way through a hooting, jeering, threatening crowd, for he was a tall, muscular man, weighing two hundred pounds, then in the prime of manhood, being forty-one years old. He arrived at the speaker's stand with his coat badly cut by the mob, and doubtless would have received personal injury had not Clay stepped to the front of the platform and begged the crowd for his sake and for God's sake to not insult nor do violence to the committee. Mendenhall stepped upon the platform, handed Clay the petition, and when he saw they were not going to give him a chair, he sat down on the floor, a little to one side of the speaker.

Clay read the petition and made it the subject of his discourse. The committee on presentation reported the substance of his speech, of which the following are the principal points: He said the act of presenting the petition was beneath the dignity of an American citizen. "Petitions," he said, "are from inferiors to superiors, or to those having absolute power. The petition should have been brought to Ashland. The signers were Democrats and those of a shade darker, and its design was to create influence against me. Suppose you were traveling through my country and I should ask you to give up your land? But I am aware that you make a distinction in the different kinds of property. We have an idea that whatever the law secures to us as property is property. The declaration of rights of which you speak was not

intended by those who formed that document as you interpret it. All thirteen of the States that framed that declaration held slaves at that very time. Yours is a new interpretation.

"Slavery is a great evil; we are in the midst of it; fastened upon us by Great Britain. There is not a man who deploras slavery more than I do. But the slave must be prepared for freedom before he can receive that great boon. He must have moral cultivation. The Society of Friends takes the right stand in regard to this question. Yours are the revolutionary principles of Thomas Dorr, of Rhode Island, and should the principles of your petition be granted, extermination and blood would be the result. States have rights that you can no more interfere with than you can with nations. I own fifty slaves, and I treat them well; ask my Charles here; he goes as well clad and, I believe, is as honest a man as Mr. Mendenhall. My slaves are worth \$15,000, and if the abolitionists will raise and give them the same amount, I will liberate them. You have put back emancipation fifty years. Go home, Mr. Mendenhall and mind your own business."

Thus it will be seen that Hiram Mendenhall acted only as the agent of the Indiana State Anti-Slavery Society, of which he was a member; that he did not thrust himself upon Henry Clay, but consulted him as to when the interview should take place and whether it should be public or private. The whole affair was simply one of those early moral engagements in the irrepressible conflict of freedom with slavery, which terminated with the close of the War of the Rebellion.

The vision of the seer was imperfect when it showed him that the zeal of the abolitionist had put back the emancipation of the slave fifty years; for not one-half of that time elapsed until American slavery was a thing of the past. But slavery, the cause of the rebellion, was buried at a fearful cost of blood and treasure. To-day we look upon the two principal actors on that Richmond stage in the light of intervening events, through the vista of fifty-nine years and across seven hundred battle-grounds of the Civil War, and over the graves of 500,000 soldiers of the blue and the gray, and the memory of the apologizers for slavery

grows dim, while the memory of the advocates of freedom grows brighter as the years go by.

"Then to side with Truth is noble, when we share her wretched
crust
Ere her cause bring fame and profit, and 'tis prosperous to be
just."

Such nobility belonged to Hiram Mendenhall and his abolition compeers in the early forties, and to-day we regard them as having been at home and attending to the business that belonged to them as American citizens and patriots while advocating the freedom of the slave.

CHARLES W. OSBORN.

Economy, Ind.

Account by Charles and William Coffin.

[Charles F. Coffin, of Chicago, and his brother William, of Pasadena, Cal., I think, are the only persons living who can write a correct history of Clay's visit to Richmond, and the yearly meeting, October, 1842—sixty-five years ago. Charles drove the carriage that conveyed him to the meeting and listened to his speech. He wrote a history and sent it to me and I advised him to have it published in your paper and he wrote me his consent to my request.

M. L. BUNDY.]

In October, 1842, Henry Clay passed through Richmond, Ind., on what was probably an electioneering tour for the presidency, though not ostensibly so. He had been prominent before the public as a candidate for President, and had heretofore been unsuccessful. The Yearly Meeting of Friends in Indiana was being held at this time, and his friends evidently arranged for his arrival there during the yearly meeting—as in those days the meetings were very large, and it was thought he would have a good opportunity to present himself before them. He arrived in Richmond on the 1st of October, 1842, and stopped at what was then known as the "Nixon Hotel," a small, but very neat hotel, afterward known as the "Huntington." There were, as guests, at the hotel, a number of Friends, amongst others, three bridal couples—James D. Ladd, Brooks Johnson and Samuel R. Lippincott. Rhoda M. Johnson, then an unmarried young lady, who afterward became the wife of Charles F. Coffin, accompanied her brother, Brooks Johnson.

Of course the arrival of so distinguished a man as Henry Clay attracted the attention of every one. The brides were introduced to him, and he promptly kissed each one of them. Miss Johnson remarked that she was glad she was not a bride on this occasion, as she did not fancy the looks of Henry Clay. On Saturday afternoon he spoke upon a platform which had been erected on some vacant lots within a block of the hotel. In addition to the large number of Friends attending the yearly meeting, the whole country for miles around turned out to hear this distinguished orator. It was estimated roughly that there were ten thousand persons in sound of his voice. Of course this number was guessed at, but there was certainly a very large number.

The anti-slavery agitation had become very strong by this time, and a large body of abolitionists resided at Newport, ten miles north of Richmond. They met and prepared an address to Henry Clay, asking him to liberate his slaves, and appointed a deputation to present it to him. This deputation was headed by Hiram Mendenhall, who became spokesman of the deputation. They made their way to the platform, and handed the petition to James Rariden, the Congressman from that district, and a very warm friend of Henry Clay's. At Henry Clay's request, he read the petition to him. It excited a great commotion in the audience, who felt it was an uncalled for intrusion at this time, and they might have offered violence to the parties presenting it, but Henry Clay arose and earnestly requested them, on his account, not to do so, but to allow the parties full liberty. He then arose and replied to the address, the committee presenting it being seated upon the platform, and told them that he was opposed to slavery himself; that all the slaves he had, he had inherited from his father—that he had never bought nor sold one—that many of them were old and infirm, and would be unable to provide for themselves if turned loose.

He turned to his body servant, whom he called "Charles" (a colored man), and said to the company: "Here is Charles—he is in a free State, and entirely at liberty to leave me if he desires to do so, and if you who present this petition will prepare a place for my slaves at home where they can be provided for, and enabled to make their living, I will gladly release them all; but

as it is, it would be an act of cruelty which I could not perform; and besides, I have grown up amongst them, and have a degree of attachment to them, which would prevent me from turning them out without the means of subsistence." He then turned to the deputation and poured out a volley of eloquence rarely heard, suggesting to them that they were interfering with something with which they had nothing to do. Standing immediately in front of Mendenhall, and bending almost over him, he closed with a peroration like this: "Go home, Mr. Mendenhall, and attend to your own business, and I will endeavor to see after mine." This scathing rebuke of course touched deeply those to whom it was administered, and they did go home, and did all they could to prevent his election for President. Whether they would have pursued the same course otherwise or not, it is uncertain, but it is supposed to have had much to do in defeating him for President.

On the next day, Sabbath morning, the writer's younger brother, William H. Coffin, stood very near the platform and heard all that was said, the writer himself being a little farther off, but yet heard enough to understand most that was said. Henry Clay desired to attend the large meeting for the public on this Sabbath, and Elijah Coffin, father of the writer, was clerk of the yearly meeting, and consulted with the few leading Friends as to what they should do in the matter. It was concluded to take him to the meeting and place him on one of the raised seats near where the ministers who were to address the meeting sat. An immense crowd came to the meeting, and the writer drove the carriage for his father, who called for Henry Clay, and took him to the meeting house. It was with great difficulty that we could get through the crowd, and it was necessary to drive very slowly, so as to allow people to open a passage way and let the carriage through. On arrival at the meeting house, a tall Friend, named Pleasant Winston, took hold of one of Henry Clay's arms and my father of the other, and then escorted him to the place in the meeting house prepared for him.

He was sufficiently elevated there to be seen by the whole company, and of course was an object of great attraction. Two ministers delivered addresses: one, John Meader, of Providence,

R. I., and the other, Stephen Grellett, of Burlington, N. J. The latter, a Frenchman of distinguished family, who had left France on account of revolutionary proceedings, and after he came to the United States, being thrown with Friends, became a member of the society and ultimately a preacher of the gospel, who traveled over the United States and Europe, and having belonged to a prominent family, was well educated and in every respect a most accomplished gentleman. This enabled him to reach the nobility—in some instances the Kings, and especially the Czar of Russia. His addresses in English were much broken and rather difficult to understand, but were able and eloquent. Henry Clay listened to these speakers with intense interest, turning almost around in his seat in order to see them distinctly, as he was nearly under them. After the close of the meeting the same difficulty occurred in getting him away that had occurred on his arrival, and I had to drive with very great care, and almost run against people in order to get them out of the way, as their curiosity led them to crowd around the carriage in order to get a view of Henry Clay. He left Richmond the next day, and proceeded on his journey westward.

This event, unimportant as it may seem, attracted very great attention throughout the country, and was much commented upon. Many narratives of it have appeared, scarcely any one of which was wholly correct, but the position which the writer and his brother occupied, enable them to give the full facts in regard to the matter, as it occurred at the time.

November 14, 1907.

CHARLES F. COFFIN.

I have carefully read your manuscript, and find it well descriptive of the occasion and subject as I saw it. Henry Clay's speech to Mr. Mendenhall and his compeers was not long, but long enough to well answer the so-called petition, in his lawyer-like, able and senatorial manner. I could almost reproduce it, not in exact words, perhaps, but in sense and point and much of the language used, as I was intensely interested. I was then at heart and conviction, anti-slavery to the bottom, and would have helped in the underground movement, or in any other way to have done any good, practically, in its overthrow.

Henry Clay had made a strong and able speech from a Whig standpoint to that great crowd, and this affair was injected to do all possible to hurt him because he was a slave-holder. Under the circumstances the scathing he gave them was merited, although distorted by them and made to appear in altogether a different light, as was also the affair next day of his attendance at the yearly meeting. So, we have so many partly untrue and distorted accounts of it, yours will be the most truthful, plain, unvarnished and impartial account of the whole affair I have ever yet seen written.

Charles Osborn some years ago wrote a statement of it from his standpoint, which was probably the fairest and most truthful narrative from that side, but he evidently was not present, and gained his information from biased sources.

After James Rariden had received and read the petition publicly from the platform to Henry Clay, he arose and answered somewhat as follows:—(Condensed) “That this petition to him at this time and place was out of order; that petitions were from inferiors to superiors; that he was now an American citizen traveling through Indiana to meet and see his friends, and in no wise a superior, but on an equality with them; that if they had had a real desire to see and talk with him about the slaves at his home, they should have come to Ashland where he would have guaranteed safety and true hospitality; and used them like gentlemen; that he was opposed to slavery, and believed it to be a great evil, but that it was fastened on the colonies by the British government at an early period of our colonial history, and was now so interwoven into the fabric of our social condition and life, especially in the Southern States, that it would be impossible to uproot it at once without destroying our government; that he had never bought or sold a slave, but had about fifty left him by will from his father’s estate; that half of them were along in years, some much older than he was, and the rest mostly their children, who had grown up on the plantation; that they had been the companions of his childhood and youth, and he was much attached to them, and felt morally bound to support them in their old age. Now, gentlemen, I will make you an offer, seeing you have come to me with this affair in this public

manner; if you will buy a suitable tract of land in northern Indiana, or Ohio (which could have been purchased very reasonably), to settle these old and infirm people on, and where they can be comfortably cared for, I will agree to turn them over to you. As to Charles, my body servant, I have brought him into a free State, and by the law, he is free; and if he wants to go with you, he is at perfect liberty to do so." (Charles grinned and showed no disposition to leap into the arms of Mr. Mendenhall and his compeers.)

Mr. Mendenhall and his company, by this time grown smaller, some having vanished in the great crowd, showed no disposition to accept his offer, and then came his eloquent and scathing peroration over Mr. Mendenhall's head, ending with the words, "Go home, Mr. Mendenhall—do good in your own neighborhood, feed the hungry, clothe the naked, relieve the necessities of the poor, the sick, the fatherless, and the widow; attend to these duties, and I will endeavor to attend to mine." Then came a mighty and prolonged roar, or cheer, you might call it, from the excited ten thousand in which I joined, doing my best, and Mr. Mendenhall went into a hole, and pulled the hole in, and disappeared. As you well say, they did go home, and did attend to their own duties as exhorted, for they were really that kind of philanthropic men; and also saw to it that no votes they could influence in after time were cast for Henry Clay, the great Slave-Holder, whom Indiana yearly meeting set at its head, by the clerk, as they afterward misrepresented and made appear.

It always, in all the statements of this Henry Clay affair I have seen, made him speak too harshly on the "Go home" part of it. It did not strike me that way at the time, as you can guess by the full text of his speech as I have written in that part of it, but was scathing enough as it really was.

I want to say further, your account of the attendance of the yearly meeting the next day, was true in every respect as I saw it, and has never before been correctly written.

WILLIAM H. COFFIN.

PIONEER TRANSPORTATION ON THE OHIO RIVER.

BY HON. SAMUEL T. COVINGTON, OF RISING SUN.

From the Rising Sun Local, April 27, 1877.

IN the early times of Rising Sun, steamboat accommodations or facilities were not first class. Boats were as angels' visits are said to be, "few and far between." The first passenger to or from Rising Sun on a steamboat was Mr. John James, the proprietor of the town. In 1815 the steamboat "Independence," on a voyage from New Orleans to Cincinnati, at the end of four months from the time of starting, arrived at Rising Sun. With the green wood which they were compelled to cut as they needed fuel, she could not make steam enough to stem the current opposite the town, and they bought fence rails of Mr. James, he to take his pay in a passage to Cincinnati. Mr. James remained with the boat until she arrived at North Bend, at which point, becoming tired of the tardiness, he left and walked ahead, arriving at Cincinnati twelve hours ahead of the Independence. That was a specimen of early steamboating.

But the pioneers of this vicinity did not depend on steamboats to take their produce to Cincinnati, where they purchased their supplies. They preferred a more reliable and rapid mode of transportation. The plain where the town now stands, as well as the surrounding country, abounded in majestic poplars, from which were made canoes and pirogues, many of which were capable of carrying five or more tons of cargo, and it was by means of these vessels that the commerce, between Rising Sun and Cincinnati especially, was transported. With one man at the bow and another at the stern, wielding the setting poles with great dexterity in pushing the canoe forward, it was surprising to see with what speed it was driven against the current. Two men would thus drive a well-laden canoe about as fast as an active man could walk, and thus the voyage to Cincinnati could be made in a little over a day's time. The writer of this has heard his grandfather, Colonel Samuel Fulton, say that on more than

one occasion he has left Rising Sun at an early hour in the morning with some members of his family who proposed to visit some friends at his former home in Newport, Ky., as passengers, and some marketing, and land at Newport before sundown. On such occasions I suppose the trip was intended especially for passengers, and express freight. In those days Rev. Joshua L. Wilson, then pastor of the First Presbyterian Church at Cincinnati, occasionally preached at the houses of Presbyterians residing in this vicinity—for they had no church buildings—and on some of those occasions Colonel Fulton, who was one of the original members and aided in the organization of the Presbyterian Church here, took his canoe to Cincinnati and brought Mr. Wilson down, and after the meetings were over took him home in the same way.

As the population increased the commerce increased, and larger vessels were required. The Browns not only had the greatest number of acres under cultivation of any in the vicinity, but they had more intercourse with Cincinnati. Ethan Allen Brown, one of the brothers, was consecutively Governor of Ohio, a Senator in Congress from that State, and a judge of its Supreme Court, during which time his home was, as might be most convenient for himself, at Cincinnati or at the farm just above Rising Sun. The Browns required a larger boat for their own convenience, and as they were very liberal and accommodating people, any respectable neighbor had as free use of it as if it were his own. This boat was made of a large poplar tree and was got out some sixty to sixty-five feet in length as a regular canoe. It was then split in twain lengthwise and widened some four or five feet, by putting in ribs and planking the bottom. This made a boat some seven or eight feet wide, and furnished a carrying capacity of fifteen to twenty tons. Of course such a boat could not be propelled with a man at the bow and another at the stern. Regular walking boards were put on each side, keel-boat fashion, and thus, with setting poles, against one end of which the shoulder was placed, the other being against the bottom of the river, was the boat driven along by men steadily walking and pushing the boat from under them, like a horse walking upon the wheel of a treadmill. This boat was used by

the Browns for their own needs, and by others who transported the whisky that was made at the little distilleries in the neighborhood of one or two barrels' capacity per day, the farm products, the rags, ginseng, etc., that were taken in exchange for "store goods" by the merchants of that day, and went so frequently that it may be said to have been the first regular packet between Rising Sun and Cincinnati. This large boat, properly manned, would make the voyage to Cincinnati in a day and a half to two days, according to the stage of the river and depth of lading.

After 1820 steamboats were seen more frequently, but the people rarely shipped or traveled by them. In the first place, there was no certainty as to when the boat might come along. In the next place, there was no certainty that it would take either passengers or cargo when it did come; and in the third place, the voyage could be made by the canoe about as rapidly as by the steamboat, considerably cheaper, and a good deal pleasanter. The average steamboat captain of fifty or sixty years ago seemed to think that profanity, vulgarity and rudeness toward passengers, officers and crew, were as essential to the prosecution of the voyage as was steam. A passenger on one of the slow boats of the day, as it was approaching a place where the current was very rapid, remarked: "There is very strong water just ahead of us, but if there is any virtue in swearing we will be able to stem it." After a hard struggle and much profanity, the boat succeeded in passing the place, when the passenger remarked: "The captain of this boat is about the only man who could swear this boat through that ripple without the aid of rosin." As a specimen of the comparative speed of the steamboats and canoes of that day, it is told of our venerable citizen, Mr. Hathaway, that he had some cargo ready to ship, which a passing boat refused to take on board. He immediately got a pirogue, placed his cargo on board, started after the steamboat, and in good time overtook her, when "they had it nip and tuck," first one ahead and then the other until they came to McCullom's ripple, six miles below Cincinnati, where Mr. Hathaway, getting the advantage of the gentler current close to the sandbar at that place, got in advance. A favorable breeze springing up at the moment, he spread a

bed quilt (they always had their own bedding and cooking utensils along) for a sail, and, having been a sailor boy, and knowing how to take advantage of the situation, he beat his competitor to the city wharf an hour or more.

By slow degrees steamboats inclined to accommodate people along the shore and obtain their business in the way of cargo and passengers. And yet so little reliance could be placed upon them that it was not until after a regular steam packet, the "Dolphin," had been placed in the trade between Rising Sun and Cincinnati, through the enterprise of Colonel P. James, in 1834, that shippers between the two points abandoned the keel and barge boats. When the trade grew so as to require some regularity in means of transportation, Messrs. Benjamin Bates and George Parker had a light flatboat built expressly and covered with a cargo-box, with which they made regular weekly trips to Cincinnati. Their boat had a mast, and a sail was used when it could be made available. At other times a horse, which they always had with them, with a line attached, was put on the shore and made to pull the boat against the current. Captain Joseph Thompson, than whom there are at the time of writing but very few, if any, older pilots on western waters now living, succeeded Bates and Parker, and did a thriving business for several years. When steam finally drove Captain Thompson out of the trade, he went as pilot with Captain John J. Roe, an old citizen of Rising Sun, who afterward achieved such an enviable reputation and amassed such an immense fortune as a merchant and boat-owner, and the two navigated nearly every navigable stream tributary to the Mississippi.

As steamboats more inclined to receive passengers, passengers began to rely upon steamboats instead of taking the canoes or pirogues, or footing it or riding through Kentucky, which was frequently done by persons going to Cincinnati. It was by no means a rare occurrence for a party of persons bound for Cincinnati to divide, one portion taking a steamboat and another at the same time crossing the river and walking to the destination, the walking party being the first to arrive. The following personal experience once occurred. Two persons had decided to go to Cincinnati. When one started across the river in the morn-

ing to walk through, the other sat down to wait for a boat. The walker was in Cincinnati some time before night. The other waited all day, built a fire on the shore at night and took shelter in an empty flatboat at the landing, and at noon of the second day succeeded in getting on board a steamboat which arrived at Cincinnati some time during that night. Two or three boats had passed up in the meantime but would not stop.

Old-time steamboatmen used to seem to take a sort of demoniac pleasure in refusing to stop at way places for freight or passengers. They were not content to pass by quietly, but not infrequently, upon being hailed, would yell out some insulting remark to the pitiful creature on shore, who was not only willing to contribute largely to the usually depleted coffers of the boatmen, but was most abject in the presence of the autocrat that controlled the craft. For the sake of being transported the poor passenger would submit to all manner of indignities and impositions. Until a regular steam packet was placed in the trade between Rising Sun and Cincinnati, our people were compelled to pay the most exorbitant prices for freight and passage, and at the same time were furnished with few facilities and very few accommodations. But the times changed. The habits, character and manners of steamboatmen greatly improved. The facilities were largely increased, prices greatly reduced, and accommodations so far superior to those of the olden time as to hardly admit of placing them in the same category.

Old-time steamboat travel was attended with great danger, There was a carelessness and recklessness, then looked upon as a matter of course, which would not now be tolerated. There was frequent racing, and all considerations of safety were lost in the desire to out-travel a competing boat. There were no laws to regulate the equipments of boats, or require competency on the part of the officers. Any man that an owner chose might go as a captain, engineer or pilot, and once in charge each man was a law unto himself. The frequency of sinkings, burnings and collisions, and the number of lives destroyed was something alarming to all travelers.

JUDGE ISAAC NAYLOR, 1790—1873.

AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY.

[The following autobiographical sketch is contributed by Mr. Morris W. Phillips, of the *Lafayette Morning Journal*. He found it among Judge Naylor's papers together with the Judge's description of the Battle of Tippecanoe, which was published in this magazine, December, 1906 (Vol. II, No. 4). According to Mrs. Mary Naylor Whiteford, daughter of Judge Naylor, this sketch was written in 1852 for *Harper's Magazine*, but not published at that time. The introductory and concluding notes are from Mr. Phillips, who, in work upon his lectures on early Indiana history, has become thoroughly familiar with this ground. The article was printed in the *Lafayette Sunday Leader*, June 24, 1907, and is published here because of its account of early times in this State, and because there is no extended life of Judge Naylor in the various collections of Indiana biography. —EDITOR.]

JUDGE NAYLOR was for years circuit judge of the district comprising the counties of Tippecanoe, White, Montgomery, Benton, Jasper and Fountain. He was well known all over the State, and respected not only as an able lawyer and judge, but as a student of history, and a veteran of the Indian wars and the War of 1812. He located in 1833 at Crawfordsville, Ind., where he remained until his death, on April 26, 1873, and where he is buried in the Masonic cemetery. He was an intimate friend of the late Jonathan W. Gordan, of Indianapolis, General Lew Wallace, of Crawfordsville, and other famous Indianians of his time. The autobiography follows:

I was born in Rockingham county, in the State of Virginia, on the 30th of July, 1790. My parents were born and reared in the same region. In the spring of 1793 my parents emigrated to the State of Kentucky, and made a short residence in Bourbon county, eight miles from Paris, having landed at Limestone, now Maysville, on the same day that General Wayne and his army passed on their way to Fort Washington, now Cincinnati. My memory reaches back to the latter part of this year, and from this period my recollection of facts is clear and vivid.

Having lived in the country three years, my father changed his residence to Harrison county and settled on the Blue Lick fork of Licking river, twelve miles from Cynthiana, the county seat. Here my father began farming, amid a dense forest of gum, beech, oak and poplar timber. Here I began my physical education at the age of six years. Here I learned to swim, to fish, to paddle and pole the canoe. Here I saw many flatboats passing up and down the river, freighted with the surplus products of the country. Here our neighbors were composed of pioneers, many of whom were hunters and Indian fighters. Our long winter evenings were usually spent in hearing and telling stories of ghosts, of hunting, of Indian skirmishes and Indian campaigns.

There were no schools in my vicinity until I was nearly ten years old. Having learned to spell at home in three syllables, I was sent to my grandmother's in Woodford county, ten miles from Lexington, where I went to school for six months and learned to read and to write a small hand. I then came home and was destined to hard labor on the farm for three years except one month, during which I went to school. I was then sent to the place where my father first located, in Bourbon county, and there I went to school three months, and learned the elementary rules of arithmetic. In the spring of 1805 my father emigrated from Kentucky and settled in the county of Clarke, Indiana Territory, thirteen miles from the Falls of the Ohio. Here we commenced making another farm; here in about three years I graduated in the science and art of chopping, rolling and hewing logs and building log cabins. In the meantime I went to the school about four months. Having improved my handwriting, and having learned the principal rules of arithmetic, I became a clerk in a small store which belonged to one of my uncles, a brother of my mother. This was the first store located at Charlestown, the county seat of the county of Clarke, Indiana. I was employed in this store six months, during which time I studied the English grammar under the tuition of the Rev. John Todd. There never was a better man, and to him I owe much gratitude, and to him I am indebted for my present position as jurist.

Having acquired a taste for literary studies, and having a strong desire to receive a classical education, by my father's consent I left home to earn the money to accomplish this object. At the age of nineteen I made a contract to work as a hand on a flatboat to New Orleans. On the 6th day of January, 1810, in company with my employer and another hand, I crossed the Falls of the Ohio on our voyage to our port of destination, where we arrived on the 10th day of the ensuing month of March.

My employer was a farmer, and after he had sold a large portion of his boatload he returned home. He employed me to sell the residue of his load. Having sold out the residue of the load, I left New Orleans about the 1st of May, and arrived home on the 1st day of June, having received nearly a hundred dollars for my services. In traveling home I passed through many Cheyenne and Chickasaw tribes of Indians. In the journey home I walked about eight hundred miles, swimming across streams, wading through swamps, and sleeping in the open air on the ground. When I arrived home I found a good linguist teaching a school in Charlestown, and by the advice of my good friend, Rev. Mr. Todd, I commenced the study of the Latin language under this teacher. His name was Graham. He was an Irishman, and distinguished for his classical learning.

After reading a few elementary books in Latin, I commenced Ovid's *Metamorphosis*. Having read a considerable portion of this work during the summer and fall of this year, I found my funds nearly exhausted, and it became necessary that I should procure funds to enable me to prosecute my studies for the ensuing year. Early in the year 1811, I made another contract to work as a hand on a flatboat to New Orleans, for the sum of sixty dollars. We commenced our journey in January and arrived at New Orleans in February. I received my wages and walked home again. I then read *Virgil* under Mr. Graham, and continued my Latin studies until September.

I had resolved when a small boy to accomplish two objects if I had the opportunity to do so. I had determined to go to New Orleans on a flatboat, and to go on a campaign against

the Indians. Having accomplished the former object, I had an opportunity of accomplishing the latter. Indian tribes on the upper Wabash had assumed a hostile attitude under the influence of Tecumseh and his brother, the Prophet. The President of the United States placed under the command of General Harrison the Fourth Regiment of U. S. Infantry, and authorized him to call to his aid such portion of the Indiana militia as he might deem necessary to check the hostile movements of Tecumseh and the Prophet.

I laid Virgil aside and became a volunteer member of a company of riflemen. On the 12th of September we commenced our march toward Vincennes and arrived there in about six days, marching 120 miles. We remained there about a week, and then took up the march to a point on the Wabash sixty miles above Vincennes, on the east bank of the river, where we erected a stockade fort that we named Fort Harrison, the city of Terre Haute now being located three miles below this fort. The name of this fort was given by Colonel Joseph H. Davies, a distinguished lawyer from Kentucky, who commanded the dragoons, with the rank of major. Upon this occasion he delivered a beautiful and eloquent speech. He was one of Kentucky's most gifted orators. He fell in the Battle of Tippecanoe, gallantly charging the Indians. Peace to his ashes.

The glorious defense of this fort nine months after it was erected, by Captain Z. Taylor, was the first step in the brilliant military triumph that made him President of the United States.

The army arrived at the Prophet's Town on the 6th of November, in the evening. We slept on our arms. Two hours before daybreak, on the morning of the 7th, the battle commenced. The result is a part of American history. Whilst the leaden messengers of death were doing their fatal deeds in every part of the encampment, I felt a strong mental impression that the God of Battles would preserve my life.

I mention this fact because many persons who fell in the battle had presentiments of their deaths. Such was the case with a young man who fell at the fire where we both slept.

Such presentiments belong to the science of the philosophy of our nature. They are facts not to be accounted for by us.

I returned home late in November and taught school during the winter of 1812, and studied algebra; in the fall of the same year I studied languages. In 1813 and 1814, I taught school nine months in Woodford county, Kentucky, and studied Montesquieu's Spirit of Laws. In the summer of 1814 I taught school in Louisville, Ky., and boarded at the home of my old friend, Rev. Mr. Todd. During the year of 1816 I was a clerk in the store of John Dauthill, in Charlestown. I read this year Dr. Paley's Moral Philosophy and his Natural Theology.

In the year 1817 I read law in Gallatin county, Kentucky, six months in the office of Samuel Todd, Esq., who has since been a circuit judge. I am pleased to acknowledge my obligation to this gentleman for his kindness and friendship while I was under his tuition. During the residue of the year I studied law with the Hon. James Scott, one of the first judges of the Supreme Court of Indiana. He was the registrar of the land office at Jeffersonville, in Clark county.

I was licensed to practice law by the Supreme Court of Indiana, in October of 1818. I resided in Charlestown and practiced law in many counties, north and west. The settlements in those counties were new, and having but few roads and no bridges across the streams, I was therefore under necessity of swimming these streams on horseback, whenever too high to be forded. How changed is this country now. In the region of Indiana where I swam these streams, one railroad is completed, and two more are being rapidly constructed. Those works are the enduring monuments of the industry and enterprise of the citizens of Indiana.

On the 27th day of April, 1826, I was married by Rev. George Bush, now of New York City, to Miss Mary Anderson, a daughter of Captain Robert Anderson, a soldier of the Revolution.

In the spring of 1833 I settled at Crawfordsville, Ind., where I have lived since, having a family of daughters and no son to transmit my name to coming generations. All thinking men desire immortality in some form.

In December, 1837, I was elected by the Legislature of Indiana the present judge of the first judicial district circuit. In December, 1844, I was re-elected, having been in office fourteen years. By a new constitution I was continued in office until I was superseded by the general election in October. Having a constitution unimpaired, I presided in all the courts in my circuit at every term except in the county of Benton, where there was so little business that I only attended at the fall term. This statement is qualified by the fact that I exchanged courts with another judge twice, he presiding in my circuit and I in his. I mention this fact to show the importance of training the physical as well as the intellectual power of man. There is important truth in the Latin maxim, *mens sana in corpore sano*.

When I commenced the practice of law in the spring of 1818 I found the besetting sin of the members of the bar to be intemperance and gambling. About nine-tenths of the members of the bar were slaves and victims to these vices. Many of these men were distinguished by their talents and legal attainments. It is a melancholy reflection to me that almost all these men have gone prematurely to their graves, at a period when their profession and usefulness should have been in its meridian of splendor. I escaped the blighting and destructive influences of these vices by early moral training by religious parents. I am pleased to state the fact that not more than one in twenty of the members of the bar of this circuit is guilty of intemperance or of gambling. The great moral and social reform of the last few years has done a mighty and glorious work among the bar of Indiana.

This reform is essential with, and necessary to the proper standing and character of this honorable profession. They grow and flourish only in the soil of civil and political liberty. They find no place in the region of despotism; they gave an irresistible impetus to the cause of our glorious Revolution. Twenty-four of the fifty-six immortal signers of the Declaration of Independence were lawyers. How indispensable, therefore, is the obligation of the members of the bar to obey the moral and physical laws of man's nature. The victims of intemperance and gambling

are the most abject slaves in all God's moral universe. These vices are usually the first steps in the pathway of infamy, and the heralds of the inevitable ruin of their victims.

As before stated, I had formed in early life two purposes, one to be a merchant and the other to be a classical scholar. I had abandoned the former to accomplish the latter. The latter was defeated by the War of 1812. The war demanded my services in defense of the frontier inhabitants of Indiana, and my own relatives and friends. At the close of the war I was advised to read law and become a member of the legal profession by my very good friend, Mr. Todd. I followed his advice. The result is already stated.

I. NAYLOR.

Crawfordsville, Ind., March 16, 1852.

The wife of Judge Naylor was a Catharine Anderson, the daughter of Captain Anderson, who was with General Washington at Valley Forge. Judge Naylor, at the time of the Pigeon Roost massacre, was a boy working in the field of his frontier home near Charlestown, Ind., and in response to a messenger telling him of the massacre then going on, mounted his horse and rode to the scene rifle in hand, to avenge the death of his neighbors. He also served in the ranks of the American army during the War of 1812. The following children of this famous old Indian fighter still live, and are located as follows: Mrs. Elizabeth Briar, aged seventy-six, Spokane, Wash.; Mrs. Mary Naylor Whiteford, Marion, Ind., aged seventy-one; Mrs. Catherine Anderson Briar, aged sixty-nine, Oakland, Cal.; and Mrs. Virginia L. Hay, aged sixty-six, Evanston, Ill.

NORTHERN INDIANA TERRITORY IN 1804.

ORIGINAL DOCUMENT.

[For the following petition for the separation from Indiana, and erection into a new territory, of the district north of the present line between Indiana and Michigan, we are indebted to Dr. Harlow Lindley, Director of the Department of Archives and History, Indiana State Library. Original printed copies of the Memorial are very rare, and it is often missing in collections of the publications of the early Congress, which are supposed to be complete. Dr. Lindley secured a copy while in Washington, D. C., this summer. Coming from a section of Indiana which afterward became Michigan, the petition is of interest to both States.—EDITOR.]

MEMORIAL
OF THE
CITIZENS AND INHABITANTS
OF THE
INDIANA TERRITORY
PRAYING FOR
THE INTERPOSITION OF CONGRESS
TO RELIEVE THEM OF
CERTAIN OPPRESSIONS
AND
EMBARRASSMENTS

MEMORIAL.

To the Honorable the Senate, and the Honorable the House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled.

We, the undersigned memorialists, citizens and inhabitants of that district of the Indiana territory, situate north of an East and West line, extending through the southerly bend of Lake Michigan, humbly pray the speedy interposition of Congress, in relief of the oppression and embarrassments under which we at present labor, originating in local causes, and which your memorialists endeavored to point out and impress with force, by their petitions, presented to Congress, at their last session, praying for a separate territory. Notwithstanding the unhappy fate which those petitions met with, and the consequent disappointments your memorialists experienced, on failure of their wishes, yet our present situation is too distressing to justify our silence upon a subject of such infinite consequence to the government, to ourselves, and to our posterity.

But one sentiment prevails within this district, upon the expediency as well as necessity of a separate territory; it is but too evident, that upon the success of this single measure, depends the happiness, good order, and prosperity of the citizens of this district, whilst its failure can not but produce consequences of a serious and alarming nature, tending to all the horrors of out-lawry, oppression, and anarchy.

Impressed with a full belief, that our government are desirous of increasing the happiness of the citizen, regardless of the quarter of the union he may inhabit, we are again induced earnestly to solicit Congress, that our situation may not be passed over in silence, but that Congress will, at an early period in the approaching session, take up and reconsider the prayer of your memorialists, presented at the last session, and if possible, and consistent with sound policy, grant to your memorialists a separate, distinct, and independent territory, as prayed for in said memorial, and for the causes therein named.

Did your petitioners conceive it necessary to enumerate new and additional reasons, shewing the expediency of granting their

prayers, many might be adduced. One in particular, we beg leave to state, which shows forcibly the impossibility of the present government to extend law to us.

From good authority we state, that in the month of September, A. D. 1803, the legislature of the Indiana territory adopted several laws, altering, amending and repealing those then in force, yet those laws, although adopted more than twelve months past, have never yet been seen in this place, of course have not come into operation in this district; by stating this fact, we do not intend to attach any blame or censure upon our governor, but to demonstrate the impracticability of communicating with the seat of government.

We beg leave further to state, that active measures are now on foot through the territory, for entering upon the second or representative grade of government; this step if successful, will greatly add to the burthens under which we now labor, by an increase of taxes, without any possible chance of sharing a proportional degree of benefit.

Your petitioners, therefore, do again renew their prayer, that Congress will erect into a separate territory, that district of land north of the above mentioned line, and grant your petitioners a government, similar to the one contemplated by the ordinance of Congress of 1787, for the organization and government of the late North West territory. And as in duty bound, will ever

Detroit, 24th October, 1804.

pray.

JAMES MAY, AND OTHERS.

INDIANA QUARTERLY MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

Indiana State Library, Indianapolis

Published by the Indiana Historical Society

CHRISTOPHER B. COLEMAN, *Editor*

EDITORIAL.

The next annual meeting of the American Historical Association will begin at Washington, Monday, December 28, and will continue at Richmond, Va., from December 29 to Thursday, the 31st. There will doubtless be a large representation from Indiana, attracted both by the unusual interest of the program and the surroundings and by the prospect of getting the 1910 meeting at Indianapolis. So far as arranged the program is as follows: Monday evening, December 28, the Honorable James Bryce, president of the American Political Science Association, will address this body and the Historical Association. Tuesday morning the Historical Association will hold a separate session, and Tuesday afternoon those in attendance will be taken by a special train to Richmond. In the evening Professor George B. Adams, president of the American Historical Association, will deliver his inaugural address. On Wednesday there will be conferences on the Relation of Geography to History and on the Teaching of History in Secondary Schools, and a general session devoted to papers in European history. Thursday there will be the conference of State and Local Historical Societies, and round-table conferences on English History, American Colonial and Revolutionary history and on Southern history. The Thursday evening session will be addressed by General E. P. Alexander, C. S. A., and others upon the campaigns of the Civil War in Virginia. Between sessions short excursions will run to the battlefields of Petersburg, Seven Pines and Yellow Tavern. After the close of the meeting, on Friday, January 1, there will be an excursion to Charlottesville and the University of Virginia.

This meeting will be of great interest to college professors,

teachers of history in high schools, and to all others as well who are readers of historical works, whether professional historians or not. The trip will be a very convenient one to take from most parts of the State. It may be possible for a large number to go together from Indianapolis. All who expect to go, whether from this city or not, are requested to send a card to that effect to the editor, stating so far as possible their plans and desires as to time of departure, route and Indiana headquarters. All who are interested are urged to send in suggestions. Full information will be published in the December number of the Quarterly.

In our last number, in an editorial under the title Historical Societies, a short account of various societies was given and suggestions were made concerning some possible activities which lay before societies in Indiana. Among the responses received was one which embodied the plan of securing, through the organizations perpetuating the memory of Revolutionary ancestors, a record of the movements of these families, showing date of immigration into this State, location here and other items of value in throwing light upon the populating of the State. This should be feasible and, indeed, steps are being taken in this direction. The development of these and other plans should and doubtless will be carried out by the proper agencies. In this number of the magazine it may be of interest to sketch briefly the work of historical organizations in Wisconsin, which in co-operative historical work stands at the head of all our neighboring States. It is not our purpose to show how this preeminence was attained, but to describe briefly the agencies and organizations now at work there. It must, however, be recognized that most of the work is due to the exceptional talents, scholarship and application of the first secretary and superintendent of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Lyman C. Draper, and his present successor, Reuben G. Thwaites.

The parent and central organization in Wisconsin is the State Historical Society. This is supported by the State at a cost of thousands of dollars annually. It enjoys the possession of a magnificent \$600,000 building which houses not only its own mu-

seum, portrait gallery and library, but the library of the State University and several allied societies. It has an employed secretary, librarian and assistants. Its library is practically the State Library. The management is vested in a board of thirty-six curators chosen for a period of three years, who together with the secretary, librarian, Governor of the commonwealth, Secretary of State and State Treasurer, constitute the executive committee of the society. Local societies in the State are incorporated under the State laws and form auxiliary societies, their members thus becoming auxiliary members of the State Society. The membership of the latter includes, also, life, annual, honorary, corresponding and ex-officio members. The first two classes are open to practically all citizens of the State upon payment of a fee of twenty and of two dollars respectively.

The work of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin may be summed up under the three-fold activity of collecting historical material and books, publications, and meetings.

Lyman Draper's remarkable work as a collector of historical material has been well followed up. In the first year of his employment by the State Historical Society he secured a thousand volumes and a thousand pamphlets and documents, and in thirty-three years of service he built up a reference library, chiefly of historical publications, of 118,000 books and pamphlets. In 1907 the library contained nearly 300,000 titles. Among the great collections are to be enumerated that of the principal newspapers of the State, and the country at large (said to be the largest outside of the Library of Congress), the department of maps and manuscripts "unexampled in the field of the Middle West and South," the collection of public documents, the genealogical collection, one of the three or four largest in the United States, and the collection of local American histories.

The publications of the society, as given in the bulletins of information include public addresses, the well known Wisconsin Historical Collections, library catalogues and lists, reports and proceedings, etc. Unlike most similar organizations, no magazine is published. Instead, bulletins of information are issued from time to time. It is not too much to say that these publications, constituting a small-sized library by themselves, are among

the most important contributions of the last generation to American history.

The meetings of the society are held annually and occasionally are combined with State historical conventions held at different cities of the State. Important papers by members and outsiders are read at these meetings. The proceedings of the last meeting, November 7, 1907, at Madison, now published, gives the reports of officers, of nine auxiliary (local) societies, all showing healthy activity, and an interesting collection of the papers read by Reuben G. Thwaites and others at the meeting. A new activity is favorably reported upon, namely sending out lecturers upon historical subjects to speak wherever local or general interest can be served by such a visit. Numerous other means are resorted to in increasing popular interest and support, such as inspiring historical articles in local newspapers and sending out suggestions to local historians. All in all, the report of the last year's work makes a very impressive recital.

NOTES.

A bronze bust of Judge Stephen Neal, of Lebanon, was presented on July 10 to the Indiana State Library. Judge Neal was one of the well known jurists of the State and attained a national reputation by drafting the fourteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States which was presented in Congress by Godlove S. Orth from his district. The bust is one of three designed and executed by Miss Clara Barth Leonard, one of which was given to the Lebanon Library and another retained by the donor, Mr. C. F. S. Neal, son of Judge Neal. Miss Leonard worked from photographs and the death mask, and had, also, the benefit of the suggestions and criticisms of the late Louis Gibson, a life-long friend of Judge Neal. The presentation was made by Union B. Hunt, on behalf of Mr. Neal, and the gift was accepted by Demarchus C. Brown, State Librarian, on behalf of the State.

The Ohio Valley Historical Association will hold its second annual meeting during the Thanksgiving season of this year.

Mr. E. A. Randall is president and G. L. Martzoff corresponding secretary of this organization.

Professor Walter C. Fleming has resigned the position of secretary of the Conference of State and Local Historical Societies, which is to be held at Richmond in connection with the next meeting of the American Historical Association at the close of this year. Professor St. George L. Sioussat will take his place.

The committee of seven appointed at the Madison meeting of the American Historical Association, Dr. Dunbar Rowland, chairman, to arrange for cooperation of the various States, especially in the Mississippi Valley, in securing transcripts from foreign archives, held a meeting at Washington April 16, and among other things recommends that historical societies, so far as possible, refrain from work of this sort until carefully prepared general lists can be made by joint effort.

The Mississippi Valley Historical Association held its first meeting at Lake Minnetonka, Minnesota, June 22-23. Professor Clarence W. Alvord, of the University of Illinois, was elected president for 1908-'09. State Librarian Demarchus C. Brown attended from Indiana.

LOCAL HISTORICAL SOCIETIES.

The Monroe County Historical Society is to have a separate room in the new court-house, given for its use and furnished by order of the county commissioners. Interest in the society is reported as constantly increasing. At the last regular meeting, announced for June 26, Mr. Dudley F. Smith read a paper upon The Old-Time Roads and the Old-Time Farming.

ACTIVITIES OF STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETIES.

The Oregon Historical Society is planning a series of leaflets on different phases of Oregon history to be supplied to the pupils of the common schools of the State.

The Oklahoma Historical Society is to have a \$25,000 addition to the Carnegie Library at Oklahoma City for its exclusive use.

The Mississippi Historical Society has incorporated, May 1,

1908, the Mississippi Association of History Teachers as an auxiliary and is printing the papers of the latter for distribution.

The Nebraska State Historical Society has obtained an appropriation from the State for a building which is to be devoted to its use.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS.

INDIANA BAPTIST HISTORY.

In "Indiana Baptist History, 1798-1908," Professor William T. Stott offers a desirable contribution to a field wherein we have little and need more. A book or two on Presbyterianism, two or three touching Methodism, a brochure on Congregationalism and this work on the Baptist church virtually comprise what we have; and yet the religious movements within a commonwealth are an integral and very important part of its history, representing, as they do, beliefs that operate through every stratum of society, and which are no small factor in determining the character of the people. Whatever one may think of the merits or absurdities of the diverse dogmas held by the several sects, it is a matter of deep sociologic interest that the church organizations and the conflicts whereby they are strengthened, present in their histories the sterling virtues of righteous ideals, zeal, self-sacrifice and sturdiness to a degree hardly paralleled in any other human activity. An institution that fosters these things surely bears an all-important part in the development of a community, and so, be it repeated, records in this field afford desirable data.

Professor Stott, for thirty-three years president of Franklin College, the leading Baptist school of the State, was pre-eminently the man to have written this book. No one, perhaps, could have had access to more material, though, unfortunately, the records of many of the earlier churches are lost beyond all finding. More first-hand information might have been desired, but nevertheless Mr. Stott has brought within his 374 pages much that will be new to the reader.

The establishment of the Baptist church in Indiana antedates all others, except the Catholic. The first organization dates

back to 1798, when four persons, John and Sophia Fisher and John and Cattern Pettet, formed themselves into a church, meeting on Owen's creek and Silver creek, in what is now Clark county. The Baptist churches early attained to an important place, and in many localities they were on the ground and flourishing when the Presbyterian and Methodist denominations made their appearance. In some places, however, these rural Baptist churches were supplanted by other denominations, and the causes of this decadence are attributed by some to the refusal of such churches to "grow" with the general progress of opinion.

By 1809 two district associations were organized; by 1825 these had grown to eleven, with more than seventy-five churches, estimating those included at dates of organizations. A list of the preachers and laymen who were prominent in these early churches includes many men of force and ability who played their part in the making of the State—the Holmans, Jesse L. and William H., Milton Stapp, the Stotts, the Vawters, Isaac McCoy, and others; and the numerous biographical sketches which form a conspicuous part of Mr. Stott's book are, in many instances, not only interesting studies in character, but also throw light upon the times. They reveal various virtues and shortcomings of those days—sturdiness, zeal and heroism on the one hand, and on the other a narrowness and intolerance of opinion that seems insufferable at the present day. Judged charitably, these opinions, of course, then had all the sanctity of high truth, and the unyielding tenacity with which they were held was one evidence of the virtues.

"Indiana Baptist History" is published by the author, 1908, and copies may be had by addressing William T. Stott, superintendent Soldiers' and Sailors' Orphans' Home, Knightstown, Ind.

GEORGE S. COTTMAN.

HISTORY OF MICHIGAN CITY.

[By Rollo B. Oglesbee and Albert Hale. Illustrated by Albert J. Widdell. 1908.]

The preservation of local history is finding some advocates in different parts of the State. This work and the following

mentioned give evidence of this fact. The authors have been engaged in their professions but have taken time for this public service. Is it not a public service to preserve the historical facts of a community?

The "History of Michigan City" was begun by Mr. Oglesbee in 1905, but in 1907, finding it impossible on account of pressing business duties to complete the work alone, he called on Albert Hale, a friend, with whose aid it has been finished this year. It is with great regret that we have to chronicle almost at the same time, the appearance of this work and the death of its principal author. In his death, which occurred about a month ago, the historical as well as the official circles of the State (Mr. Oglesbee was at the time at the head of the bank department of the State Auditor's office) have suffered loss.

Mr. Oglesbee has given much time and space to the early struggles in the Northwest Territory long before Michigan City was thought of. This part of the story is by no means new, but it is the best feature of the volume. Mr. Oglesbee contends that the first purchase of land for the city was in November, 1830, instead of September, 1833, as was maintained by others.

The discussion of the Michigan Road takes up a chapter of considerable interest. The Railroads, Public Improvements and the Indiana Prison are given separate chapters. The last mentioned chapter is a valuable contribution. It is appreciative of the growth of this institution into a modern, well-conducted establishment belonging to all the people of the commonwealth.

The closing chapters—except the one on the Prison—have been hurriedly written and edited. One chapter is devoted to a private corporation. This is a part of Michigan City, it is true, but it resembles advertising, and therefore lessens the value of the book as history.

The space given to "Schools, Libraries, Churches, Cemeteries, and Parks" amounts to one chapter of ten pages. Mr. Oglesbee himself thought this entirely too insignificant—and rightly—but was forced to yield. The absence of a table of contents and index is a serious oversight.

Mr. Oglesbee deserves great credit for collecting the facts

about Michigan City. It is hoped that he may have successors in Indiana.

DEMARCHUS C. BROWN.

A TWENTIETH CENTURY HISTORY OF MARSHALL COUNTY, INDIANA.

[By Daniel McDonald. Illustrated. Two volumes, \$18. Lewis Publishing Co., Chicago.]

Mr. McDonald is the gentleman who, as a member of the Indiana State Senate, secured the passage of a bill to commemorate the removal of the Pottawattomies, and especially to cherish the record of the old chief Menominee. It can readily be understood, therefore, that he writes with interest and some authority about the early history of the northern part of Indiana, and in particular Marshall county.

Now that the Indian is a vanishing race, the necessity of recording the life and customs of these people becomes manifest to all, and Mr. McDonald is a leader in perpetuating the good work.

The prehistoric features, mound builders, and buffaloes, for instance, are not neglected. A large part of the first volume is taken up with the movements of the population and the organization of the county in 1836.

The main point in the histories of Indiana counties at present is the preservation of the facts. Much will be lost in manuscripts, letters and newspapers unless men like Mr. McDonald collect and preserve them. The writing of a scientific history will come later on. However, Mr. McDonald shows considerable skill in the arrangement of this material and gives the various sections their proportionate value. This is a difficult thing because of local pressure to be represented in the history.

The second volume contains the biographies of the well-known and older inhabitants of Marshall county, with portraits. It is in this part that local and personal pressure may be put upon an author. Mr. McDonald has done this fairly well, but not so well as the earlier history. One gets the impression that the history has been a work of love and not profit. There is a good table of contents and index.

DEMARCHUS C. BROWN.

THE INDIANA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

VOL. IV

DECEMBER, 1908

No. 4

AN EARLY EDUCATIONAL REPORT.

[The following document is taken from the Senate Journal for 1821, at the end of the volume and under separate paging. It is the starting point of the most important legislation on educational matters under the old constitution, and may be said to be the beginning of our State educational system. It is reprinted here because the original is rare and in many places can be read only by the use of a magnifying glass.—EDITOR.]

THURSDAY MORNING, December 6, 1821.

MESSRS. CASWELL, Todd and Welsh, from the committee appointed by the last General Assembly to prepare a bill providing for a regular system of education, now made the following report:

The committee appointed by a joint resolution of both Houses of the General Assembly of the State of Indiana, to draft and report at the present session, "A bill providing for a general system of Education, ascending in a regular gradation, from Township Schools to a State Seminary wherein tuition shall be gratis, and equally open to all," respectfully beg leave to report, that they have had the subject under consideration—and fully reciprocating the sentiments expressed by the General Assembly, as to the importance of a general diffusion of learning and knowledge among the rising generation, particularly in a government, which, like ours, is bottomed upon public opinion, and where intelligence and virtue are the strong safeguards of the Republic; have given it all the attention which time and their various avocations would permit.

Your committee have to report that, owing to the sickness and death of part of their number, and the non-attendance of others, they have not only been deprived of the benefits anticipated from the well known talents and learning of those with whom they have had the honor to be associated; but those circumstances

have put it out of the power of your committee sooner to convene, that a greater portion of time, since the last session of the General Assembly, might have been devoted to the important duties enjoined upon them by the resolution. Although by the resolution of your honorable body, your committee were only instructed to report a bill providing for a general system of education, yet they have deemed the subject of sufficient importance to justify a brief report, showing the grounds of calculation upon which a bill, when reported, may eventually rest.

The donations made by the Congress of the United States, for the benefit of Schools and a State University (although not without a consideration given on the part of the State, by a relinquishment of the right of taxation for a limited time) are liberal in the extreme; and the Union collectively, although they can not control, have an indirect interest in their final appropriation. It is believed by your committee, that if a proper disposition be made of those donations, a permanent fund may be created, sufficient in amount not only to disseminate the general and more necessary branches of education in the several townships, but also to furnish such endowments to an university as with some assistance will enable this State to occupy, in a literary point of view, a highly respectable standing. But this, in the opinion of your committee, can not be expected immediately. High attainments in literature, are not the results of a moment; but like all other improvements, must be gradual and progressive. Your committee are deeply impressed with the importance of the first step which may be taken towards the accomplishment of the grand design. Should a hasty and improvident disposition be made of those funds, your committee are well aware that the error may be fatal; and that the grants of the General Government, so beneficial in their object and so liberal in their amount, will be rendered unavailing; thereby destroying the brightest prospects, not only of the present generation, but those which are to come after us. Under this view of the subject, your committee can not but feel, that they are travelling over consecrated ground; and they do not mean it as a commonplace remark, when they say that it is with diffidence they suggest a course of

measures, which, if finally adopted by the Legislature, must be pregnant with such importance consequences.

Your committee have been induced to lay before the General Assembly, the result of their deliberations, so far as they have progressed, that the committee on the subject of education, may be as early as possible in possession of the facts and calculations upon which they may be called to report, and which shew the foundation of the systems which have heretofore been adopted by the older States.

The State of Indiana is estimated by your committee, to contain twenty-two millions three hundred and twelve thousand nine hundred and sixty acres, including land and water.

From this amount, your committee have made the following deductions:

	ACRES
For that part of the State covered by the waters of Lake Michigan	96,000
For those lands embraced by Clark's grant.....	149,000
For reservation in Knox and other counties.....	30,420
For lands reserved for the use of the University.....	46,080
	<hr/>
Total amount of deduction.....	*417,500
Amount of the whole area.....	22,312,960
Amount of deduction.....	417,500
	<hr/>
	21,895,460

From which aggregate amount, one thirty-sixth part is to be taken as lands appropriated for the use of schools, amounting to six hundred and eight thousand two hundred and seven acres.

These lands, or part of them, your committee would recommend, should be put in market as soon as practicable; and the situation of the country will justify the measure.

The following table will show what may be realized by such sale, at the relative prices of one dollar and twenty-five cents to five dollars per acre, provided the whole amount should be put in market and can be sold:

* This is an error, but figures are copied from printed report.

Amount of sales at \$1,25.....	\$ 760,258,90
Do. at 1,50.....	912,310
Do. at 1,75.....	1,064,362
Do. at 2,00.....	1,216,444
Do. at 2,25.....	1,368,465
Do. at 2,50.....	1,520,517
Do. at 2,75.....	1,672,569
Do. at 3,00.....	1,824,621
Do. at 3,25.....	1,976,672
Do. at 3,50.....	2,128,724
Do. at 3,75.....	2,280,776
Do. at 4,00.....	2,432,828
Do. at 4,25.....	2,584,879
Do. at 4,50.....	2,736,931
Do. at 4,75.....	2,888,983
Do. at 5,00.....	3,041,035

For the purpose of facilitating the sale of the aforesaid lands, your committee would recommend the establishment of one or more Land Offices at the discretion of the General Assembly, to be placed at such points as they may think most advantageous.

Whether these lands shall be sold for cash in hand, or upon credit, payable by instalments, your committee find some difficulty in determining.—In favor of a sale for cash in hand, it may be urged, that if the proceeds of the sales are funded, together with the interest at the expiration of each year, that the accumulation will be greater than can be realized from the extra price for which it is supposed the lands will sell, should a credit be allowed. Your committee, however, are inclined to think, that considering the present embarrassed state of the circulating medium of the country, the scarcity of the precious metals and the great amount of land now in market, that greater inducements will be held out to purchasers, should the lands be sold on a credit of four years, payable by instalments, according to the system heretofore adopted by the United States; and that the lands will command a price of more than sufficient to balance such accumulation.—But whether the accumulation of a debt existing between the government and the people and the consequent forfeitures which may be expected to follow such credits, are considerations

sufficient to overbalance the difference in price, your committee will not attempt to determine. Should the lands be sold for prompt payment and the proceeds, together with the annual interest, be put upon loan, the fund will rapidly increase in amount, and the yearly dividends will consequently be greater.

The following table will shew the ratio of increase, from one to ten years, from the different prices, from one dollar and twenty-five cents to five dollars per acre. [See next page.]

This table, together with the other, may probably contain some errors, and in no instance have the fractional parts of a dollar been calculated; but they are supposed to be sufficiently correct to answer all the purposes for which they are intended.

Should the legislature be disposed to fund the proceeds of the sales, it is believed by your committee, that at the expiration of six years, a sufficient dividend may be made to maintain a school in each school district, for the term of three months in each year, out of the public money alone.

Your committee are also of opinion, that a school for a shorter term than three months in each year, would not be calculated to promote the intended object, and that good teachers can not be obtained without great difficulty, for a shorter term. To effect this object, your committee would recommend that so soon as any money shall be received upon such sales, or upon instalments which may become due from time to time, that the amount be loaned upon mortgages of real estate, in small sums, the interest to be paid annually, which interest also be funded in like manner, at the expiration of each year, having special regard that the debt be perfectly secured, upon such landed estates as have an undoubted title, the amount of which shall be sufficient to secure the State against all possible losses. But should the dividends be immediately made after the first year, without further increase, the following table will shew the number of townships in which schools are eventually to be organized, the number of schools necessary, allowing nine square miles to each school district, the amount of dividend for the first year, at the relative prices; also the amount which may be divided, should the fund be permitted to accumulate for the term of six years.

A table showing the ratio of increase from one to ten years, at the different prices of one dollar twenty-five cents to five dollars per acre, upon the principle of finding the interest at the expiration of each year.

Price of lands	Am't of sales at the several prices of \$1.25 to \$5.00 per acre	Am't of principal and inter- est at the end of one year	Am't at the end of two years, prin- cipal and interest both being funded	Do. 3 years	Do. 4 years	Do. 5 years	Do. 6 years	Do. 7 years	Do. 8 years	Do. 9 years	Do. 10 years
\$1 25	\$ 760,258	\$ 805,878	\$ 858,205	\$ 905,478	\$ 959,806	\$1,-17,-94	\$1,078,457	\$1,143,145	\$1,211,731	\$1,284,431	\$1,361,500
1 50	912,310	967,048	1,025,070	1,086,574	1,151,768	1,220,874	1,294,126	1,371,773	1,454,079	1,541,323	1,633,302
1 75	1,064,392	1,228,223	1,195,876	1,267,628	1,343,685	1,424,306	1,509,764	1,600,349	1,696,369	1,798,151	1,906,040
2 00	1,216,414	1,289,398	1,366,761	1,448,766	1,535,691	1,627,832	1,725,501	1,829,031	1,938,772	2,005,698	2,178,403
2 25	1,368,465	1,450,572	1,537,607	1,629,863	1,727,655	1,831,314	1,941,193	2,067,665	2,192,925	2,324,500	2,463,940
2 50	1,520,517	1,611,748	1,708,452	1,810,959	1,919,616	2,034,782	2,156,868	2,285,280	2,422,396	2,567,739	2,721,803
2 75	1,672,569	1,772,923	1,879,293	1,992,056	2,111,579	2,238,174	2,372,464	2,514,812	2,665,643	2,825,643	2,995,182
3 00	1,324,631	1,930,098	2,045,903	2,163,657	2,298,776	2,436,962	2,582,904	2,737,878	2,902,150	3,076,276	3,260,852
3 25	1,976,672	2,095,272	2,220,988	2,354,247	2,505,501	2,655,831	2,815,180	2,984,090	3,163,135	3,352,923	3,554,098
3 50	2,128,724	2,250,447	2,391,734	2,535,238	2,687,352	2,848,593	3,019,509	3,200,679	3,392,720	3,596,283	3,812,061
3 75	2,280,776	2,417,622	2,562,679	2,716,439	2,879,425	3,052,190	3,235,321	3,429,440	3,635,206	3,853,348	4,081,517
4 00	2,432,828	2,578,894	2,733,628	2,987,645	3,166,904	3,356,918	3,558,334	3,771,834	3,998,886	4,238,033	4,492,313
4 25	2,548,879	2,739,971	2,904,374	3,078,632	3,263,350	3,459,151	3,666,690	3,886,691	4,019,893	4,267,086	4,629,114
4 50	2,736,931	2,901,446	3,075,214	3,259,726	3,455,309	3,662,627	3,882,384	4,115,327	4,362,246	4,623,981	4,901,448
4 75	2,888,983	3,042,321	3,246,061	3,440,825	3,647,374	3,866,217	4,098,190	4,344,081	4,604,746	4,881,009	5,188,861
5 00	3,041,035	3,125,497	3,310,906	3,509,560	3,720,133	3,943,340	4,179,940	4,430,730	4,695,580	4,978,375	5,277,076

Number of towns in which schools are to be organized..... 950

Allowing each school district to contain nine square miles, there will be in the State.....3,800 schools

The following table will shew the amount of the annual dividend after the expiration of the first and sixth year, at the relative prices of \$1,25 to \$5,00 per acre:

Price of lands		Dividend after first year		Dividend after five years	
At \$1,25	Div. for each Dist.	\$12,00	Div. for each Dist.	\$17,02	
1,50	"	14,40	"	20,43	
1,75	"	16,80	"	23,84	
2,00	"	19,20	"	27,25	
2,25	"	21,60	"	30,66	
2,50	"	24,00	"	34,07	
2,75	"	26,40	"	37,48	
3,00	"	28,80	"	40,89	
3,25	"	31,20	"	44,30	
3,50	"	33,60	"	47,71	
3,75	"	36,00	"	51,12	
4,00	"	38,40	"	54,53	
4,25	"	40,80	"	57,94	
4,50	"	43,20	"	61,35	
4,75	"	45,60	"	64,76	
5,00	"	48,00	"	68,17	

It is impossible for your committee to determine the amount of money which may be raised by selling the lands upon credit and funding the instalments, as they become due; but it is presumed the amount will be less than upon a cash sale. The above calculations are made upon the supposition of a sale of the whole of the lands; but as the proportion of school lands is the same throughout the State; the dividend in each township will be the same, although no sales should be effected, but in a more settled part of the country.

In determining the number of schools which may be necessary throughout the State, your committee have allowed nine square miles to each district, which will give to each township four district schools.

If these are properly located, the extreme distance which any children will have to travel to attend school, will be but little more than one mile and one half. This calculation, it is presumed, will suit the present population of this State; but in the State of New York, the law provides for the establishment of a school upon every four square miles, and if we allow to every quarter section of land four children, between the ages of four and sixteen years, the number would be sixty-four in every school district; a number sufficiently large, in the opinion of your committee, for advantageous improvement. Upon that calculation, nine school districts, instead of four, would be necessary in each township, which will consequently increase the number from three thousand eight hundred to eight thousand five hundred and fifty. It is the opinion of your committee, that the present population will not require a greater number than four, and the change can be made whenever the situation of the country shall require it. Your committee would therefore recommend, that a school district be located and established upon every territory of land comprising nine square miles whenever the population in such township and the situation of the school funds will justify it; the location to be made as nearly central within the district as may be.

Another system of rendering donation lands productive, has been adopted in many parts of the United States, which is that of leasing the lands, either permanently, or for a life or lives. But the same beneficial results have not been here as in Europe.

In England all lands are held by that kind of tenure, and the immense population of that country are not left to their choice of titles. The privileges attendant upon a fee simple interest, are not within the reach even of the wealthy; and although the existence of the people in a great measure depends upon a preservation of the timber and a proper cultivation of the soil, yet even there, the restrictions and forfeitures attendant upon those estates, are often considered burthensome and oppressive. If the sole object of the farmer were the accumulation of wealth, it will not be denied by your committee, that leases would be preferred; for it is believed that the individual who pays during his life the annual interest of five dollars per acre, by way of ground rent, pays a less sum than the purchaser, who advances his pur-

chase money, although he should buy the land at a much less price than five dollars per acre. But the independence attached to a fee simple interest, it is hoped, will long be cherished by every freeman, as one of his dearest rights.

It is believed, by your committee, that the great mass of individuals, who would make good tenants, will prefer the allodium, and they can not but be strongly impressed with a belief, that even permanent leases will not protect the property of the State from destruction, unless restrictions are imposed upon tenants, which might be considered incompatible with the principles of a free government. Should restrictions be imposed, much danger is to be apprehended in progress of time, from litigation and disputes, which may arise between the government and the people, should the system of leasing be adopted. If the tenants hold the lands without impeachment of waste, the experience of our sister States furnishes ground of fear, that after a few years, those tenants will find it convenient to quit the premises, not only leaving rent in arrear, but doing such damage to the lands as will place it beyond the power of the State, either to sell or lease them for many years. This system of leasing is also more objectionable here than in many of the eastern and northern States.

In most parts of that country, the second growth of timber is more thrifty than the first, and lands which were cleared of timber in the year eighteen hundred, have now a sufficient growth upon them to answer all the common purposes of life. But your committee would enquire, whether the experience of this country as to the second growth of timber, will justify such an expectation, as it regards the greater portion of lands in this State.

As an answer to these objections, it may be urged, that the tide of emigration is steadily flowing to the West, and that the future population of the State will justify the expectation, that tenants of a better class will soon be numerous. But it must be recollected, that the field for emigration is also immense and that the tide will probably continue to roll on over the western wilds, until it reaches the Pacific Ocean; so that little change can be expected until the long distant ebb shall return upon us a redundant population.

Your committee are however apprised, that many of your honorable body entertain different sentiments, as to the best methods of rendering the school funds productive and have therefore prepared a table, shewing what amount may probably be realized, by selling the lands at auction to the highest bidder, the purchaser paying annually, the interest of the amount he shall bid for the land, also shewing the increase of that fund by a loan of the amount of interest, from year to year, for the term of six years.

Suppose the lands to be sold at \$3,50 per acre, the purchaser paying annually the interest of the amount of sale, the yearly amount to be paid for a quarter section would be twenty-one cents per acre, which is equal to.....\$	36,60
Making for the whole, the gross sum of.....	127,720,00
If this sum together with the interest and the instalments, as they become due, from year to year, be funded for the term of six years; the whole amount will be.....	1,018,630,00
Interest of this sum one year is.....	53,454,00
Annual sum to be added as income.....	127,723,00
Making the sum, annually to be divided.....	181,177,00
Amount of dividends for each school will be.....	47,67
Should the lands sell at four dollars per acre, the amount to be paid for a quarter section will be twenty-four cents per acre, equal to.....	38,40
Making for the whole, the gross sum of.....	145,909,00
If this sum together with the annual interest, and instalments as they become due, from year to year, be funded for the term of six years, the whole amount will be.....	1,164,508,00
The amount to be divided at the end of six years, will be	207,081,00
Amount for each school district.....	54,49

In order that a regular system of education may be adopted throughout this State, and that the public funds shall not be improperly appropriated; your committee would recommend, that

a board of inspection be appointed, in each county where schools are to be established, whose duty it shall be, to examine the qualifications of all teachers, who may be offered by the trustees of the several school districts for employment, and shall give the person applying, a certificate of qualification, if they find his acquirements such as will justify such certificate, and that in no instance, the trustees of such school district be authorized to receive the dividends appropriated by law, for the payment of such teachers, unless the person by them employed to teach such school shall first have received such certificate. Your committee would further recommend, that it be made the duty of such inspectors, some or one of them, at least twice in each session, to visit and examine the several schools in their county, with a view of ascertaining the manner in which said schools are taught, and the improvements made in the several branches of education.

This course is suggested under a belief, that a public examination is calculated to excite vigilance in the instructors, and a spirit of emulation, among the youths under their charge.

Should strict attention be paid to the organization and improvement of township schools, they may become nurseries of teachers, for the wide extent of country yet to be settled.

Your committee would further suggest, that no person shall be considered as a competent teacher of such district school, unless he be of good moral character, and well versed in reading, writing, arithmetic, English Grammar, Geography and surveying.

Your committee have been more particular as to the qualifications of instructors, from a belief that few persons will feel themselves able to educate their sons at the University, and your committee have considered the above qualifications as indispensable to a good education.

The annual fund for the benefit of township schools, it is presumed, will not be more than sufficient to pay the instructors who must necessarily be employed, upon the system which has been suggested.

Towards the further accomplishments of the great object, your committee would recommend, that the qualified electors within the bounds of each school district, when organized for certain purposes, be a body politic and corporate, with power by their

vote to levy and collect a sufficient tax, to erect suitable buildings for the purpose of a school, and also by their vote to levy and collect a tax sufficient to maintain a school in such district, for any portion of time in each year which they may think proper, in aid of the general appropriation from the common fund.

Your committee are aware, that to compell the people of a district to support a school against their will, might be considered an infringement of their natural rights, but if each school district is left at liberty to adopt or reject such tax, it can not, in the opinion of your committee, be considered either burthensome or oppressive.

As to the quality of buildings to be erected, and the time for which such schools shall be kept, they are left at liberty to determine, and of their comparative poverty or wealth, may be sole judges.

Your committee would recommend, that the internal police and management of such schools be intrusted (in addition to the board of inspection and instructor, as aforesaid) to a suitable number of trustees to be elected by the qualified electors in each district, who shall have power to employ teachers, furnish fuel and other necessaries for the school, and to exercise a general superintendence over the concerns of said district.

ON THE SUBJECT OF COUNTY SEMINARIES.

As to the monies arising from fines, forfeitures and commutations for military service, your committee beg leave to enquire, whether the laws upon those subjects may not need amendment, and would respectfully advise, that they be made as efficient as practicable, for ascertaining the correct amount, and for securing and collecting the monies annually.

The amount of these monies, either on hand or now due, your committee can not, for want of sufficient data, with any precision conclusively state, but conjecture that the following estimates may not be far from correct:

From examinations had of the reports of agents for county seminaries, of twenty-six counties, for eighteen hundred and twenty, and including the previous years, the amount is stated at three thousand dollars, and for the year one thousand eight

hundred and twenty-one, from six counties, at two thousand and sixteen dollars, making an aggregate of five thousand and sixteen dollars, as now reported.

Your committee, however, feel pretty confident that, upon a more full and careful investigation of the subject, there will be found due to the State, a much larger sum.

With regard to the establishment of county academies, your committee beg leave to enquire, whether the following plan may not be expedient, viz. That your Honorable body should, by law, make it the duty of the several townships, in each county, to elect one trustee for each township, and resident therein, to be a member of the board of such academy, whenever the county funds for that purpose, will authorize the establishment of such an institution, and that as soon as there shall have been a regular and fair return made from each township, of the persons elected in it for a trustee, certified by the clerk and judges of the election, to the clerk of said county, whose duty it shall be to record the same, and the several trustees so elected shall have taken an oath, faithfully to discharge the duties of a trustee in such county academy, such board shall then be in law and in fact a body politic and corporate, either as it respects prosecution or defense, the acquisition or disposal of property, the choice of a teacher, or any other act, calculated to promote the interest of such academy, and corresponding with the original laws and constitution of the State of Indiana on that subject.

Your committee would, however, further recommend, that such academies should always be subject to any constitutional alterations, which the legislature may from time to time see proper to make.

Your committee further beg leave to recommend, a sale of the college lands upon the same principles heretofore suggested, as to the lands reserved for the use of the township schools, and the funding the proceeds in like manner.

It is believed by your committee, that five dollars per acre, be a fair price to establish as a medium for the whole, under this view they submit the following table, which will shew the amount of lands, so far as your committee have been able to as-

certain them, the amount of money which may be realized on such sale, the yearly accumulation of the fund, and the total amount at the expiration of six years. In this calculation, the interest is added to the principal and loaned at the expiration of each year.

NOTES UPON THE COLLEGE TOWNSHIPS.

Number of townships.....	2
Number of sections unsold.....	64
Number of acres in 64 sections.....	40,960
Money for 40,960 acres, sold at \$5, one-fourth to be paid on the day of sale.....	\$204,800
One-fourth of \$204,800.....	51,200
Interest on \$51,200, the first year, and to be added to it, making	57,528
Interest on \$57,528, the second year, and to be added to it, making	61,430
The second instalment of \$51,200 at the end of the second year and to be added to \$61,430, and making.....	112,630
Interest on \$112,630, for the third year and to be added to it, together with the instalment due at the end of that year	170,587
Interest for the fourth year on \$170,587, and to be added to it together with the instalment due at the end of that year, and making the total sum of.....	232,022
Interest on \$232,022, the fifth year, and to be added to it, making at the end of that year the total sum of....	246,012
Interest on the last amount at the end of the sixth year, and to be added to it, making a total sum of.....	260,772

With regard to an University for the State, contemplated in the law making provision for the promotion of literature, and the organization of such an institution, your committee recommend the passage of a law for establishing it, to be known by the name of the University of Indiana, and that a board of trustees be selected with great care, and appointed by law to superintend its interest.

Your committee think, that to appoint as great a number as

are found composing the eastern boards, might not be advisable, and would for different reasons which might be assigned, tend rather to embarrass and retard the operations of such an institution, than give them facility.

Your committee would respectfully suggest the number of thirteen, besides the Governor and Lieut. Governor, who shall be trustees *ex officio*, a majority of whom having regularly met any time, shall form and be a quorum, for business; and that this board, constituted a body corporate and politic, should afterwards have authority to fill their own vacancies whenever they occur. That it should be the duty of this board, to appoint and manage all the interests of the institution, to select and employ a President, professors, tutors, a Librarian, Stuard, etc.

Should the funds not be considerably increased, either by legislative aid or otherwise, beyond what a fair interest for five or six years will make them; your committee are of opinion that the most expedient plan as introductory to an University, will be to establish a College first: In that case, to make it respectable or indeed useful, it is respectfully suggested, that it will be necessary to place a President at the head of it, whose duty it shall be, besides exercising a general superintendency, to participate personally in giving instruction to the highest or first class in College, Logic, Metaphysics, Moral Philosophy and Criticism—2d, A professor of Mathematics and natural Philosophy—3d, a professor of Geography, ancient and modern, and astronomy, as also, 4thly, a professor of the Latin, Greek and Hebrew languages, with one or more assistant tutors.

But should the funds be auspiciously managed and augmented, then and in that case, your committee take the liberty, prospectively of submitting it as their opinion, that a variety of other additions, to the merely literary departments should also be made.

Should it therefore, in a pecuniary point of view be found practicable, your committee would further respectfully suggest, the propriety of adding a professorship of Theology, with one of the law; together with a Medical School, to be conducted by its proper Professor.

In this department of the University, your committee beg leave to recommend the following arrangement: 1st, Clinical proper; 2d, one on the materia medica, botany and natural history; 3d, one of chemistry; 4thly, one on physiology, anatomy and obstetricks, and 5thly, one of surgery.

The whole, both in the literary and other departments, forming a Faculty, and reciprocally aiding each other in preserving order, and giving dignity to the institution.

When the committee recommended these last variety of additions to the College, they are aware from their instructions, that a gratuitous education is intended by the legislature in the merely literary departments, and from the lowest of them in a common school, to the highest in an University.

In correspondence with this legislative intention, the committee have made their calculations for a term of years not exceeding six, when according to the estimates of the committee, the aggregate amount as will be seen from the tables, will be \$260,772, from this amount 60,772, may then safely be employed: Say 40,000 dollars of it in erecting a building and the balance, 20,772 dollars, in obtaining a Library and a Philosophical and Chemical Apparatus, in such portions of each as may then be found most expedient.

After this deduction is made, it will be seen, that there will remain as a permanent fund of dolls. 200,000, the annual interest amount of which is dolls. 12,000 which, allowing the President dolls. 2,000 per annum, and to Professors each, dolls. 1,200, and to the two tutors, each, dolls. 600,00. The whole amount of expenditures on the teachers will amount to \$6,800, leaving a balance yearly, of five thousand two hundred dollars, for appropriation in whatever way may be deemed best.

The committee submit it to the consideration of the legislature, whether it might not be advisable to appropriate annually \$1,000 of the remaining \$5,200 to increase the library.

With regard to the internal police, in any of the public institutions, from the Academy to the University, your committee have thought it would be premature in them to suggest any thing on that subject.

All the laws and regulations customary and necessary in the different departments in the College or University, must naturally and with propriety grow out of the authority with which your honorable body may be pleased to clothe the board of trustees, and with the exception of the tutors, all the various grades of instruction of each of them.

Your committee having thus briefly stated the result of their deliberations upon the several subjects indirectly involved in the resolution of your honorable body, would respectfully inquire, whether the public good imperiously demands that a further report should be made at the present session, or whether a vacation might not consistently be allowed your committee, or some one of them, or some other person to prepare a bill so tedious in detail as the organization of the different schools.

Your committee have preserved the materials which will greatly facilitate the drafting such bill, and wish to hold themselves subject to the will of your honorable body, but they humbly conceive, that until the General Assembly devise the means of rendering school funds productive, a bill organising schools, academies and universities, can not be material.

Your committee would further suggest to your honorable body that they have opened a communication with the heads of department of those States, where schools have been organized by public authority, as also with some of the most respectable literary institutions, in the United States; from which sources they expect to receive such documents as will greatly facilitate the accomplishment of so desirable an object.

Those documents, together with the time which will be allowed for reflection and study, in the opinion of your committee are important, and ought not to be dispensed with, unless existing cause, not within the knowledge of your committee, render a different course necessary.

All of which is respectfully submitted,

DANIEL J. CASWELL,
Chairman of the Committee.

THE CIVIC VALUE OF LOCAL HISTORY.

BY ARTHUR W. DUNN.

[Read before the Ohio Valley Historical Association at Marietta, Ohio, November 29, 1908.]

MY paper to-day has nothing to do directly with research into local history, to stimulate which is one of the primary purposes of this association; but it has reference to the use of local history in the school curriculum, a subject which should have an equal claim upon our attention.

The importance of local historical research is steadily gaining recognition, and is reflected in a growing belief that local history should have a place in the course of study. The question of how to make use of it in the schools to the best advantage, however, has not yet been definitely answered. Down to the present time its use in the education of children has been, for the most part, unsystematic, and unfruitful of results commensurate with its possibilities and value.

This unsystematic and fragmentary use of local history in the schools is due in part to a lack of materials in available form. On the other hand, a truer conception of the values of local history as a study, and an intelligent effort to make a better use of the materials at hand, will inevitably stimulate a greater interest in the collection of adequate material, and in putting this material in available form. For example, the attempt to use local history systematically in the schools of Indianapolis during the last two years, and the discovery of a lack of adequate material in available form, led the Commercial Club to appropriate a sum of money to meet the situation. When the Indianapolis Water Company found that the children were striving earnestly, but in vain, to get accurate information regarding the Indianapolis water supply, this company voluntarily prepared a brief but well written account of the history of the water supply, and the present organization of its system, and is now cooperating in the preparation of a complete history of the subject.

The real causes of the difficulties in the use of local history in the schools are, in my mind, two:

1. A misconception of what constitutes useful local history; and
2. Failure to see how to introduce it in a course of study that is already criticised as being overcrowded.

The second difficulty may be largely cleared up by a proper answer to the first.

What is local history?

Have you never heard people in the West assert that western localities have no history worthy of the name? What have we in Indianapolis, for example, that is worthy of historical research, in the sense that we find such matters in Boston or Philadelphia? Indeed, we are inclined to look with envy upon Cincinnati and Marietta and our own Vincennes, because these places have a local history that we have not. What conception is this that permits such a feeling? It is due to a common notion that local history, to be worthy of the name, must have a manifest bearing upon some great national movement. The great movement of the Revolution or of our national beginnings can not be studied without having our attention focused constantly upon Boston and Philadelphia; and the story of the Northwest Territory must take into account Marietta, Cincinnati, and Vincennes. But where in our histories of the United States, or even of the Northwest, do we find it necessary to refer to Indianapolis?

What I mean is, that local history is too often considered as a mere appendage to general history; and when that is the case it is bound to be disorganized, disconnected and inadequate. It is a narrow view of local history that takes into account only those events that are of national importance.

On the other hand, there are those who see in local history only a chronicle of events that have, usually, little interest to anybody but those who participated in them, or their families. The sort of thing I have in mind may contain good historical material, but as we find it, it seldom has much value, especially in the schools; though it may be interesting to the antiquarian society. In Indianapolis it has been a subject of serious debate,

for example, whether the first actual settler in that locality was one George Pogue, who was afterward killed by the Indians, or the brothers McCormick. Each of these claimants has violent partisans. It is conceivable that something important might hinge on the correct solution of this problem. But as a matter of fact it is of no importance to any one, and of comparatively little interest to few, which way this question is settled.

The first idea that I wish to emphasize is that every community of whatever age or size, has a local history that is instructive. Each has its own life story which is full of vital interest and instruction, although from the viewpoint of general history it may have no apparent significance. The old proverb that "a prophet is not without honor save in his own country" has its application to local history. It is a valuable lesson to learn that the homely things of everyday life, the familiar facts of local environment, have truths for us as significant as those of far-away places and remote times.

The first thing we in the schools need to do, to solve the problem of local history in the course of study, *is to find the proper point of view from which to approach the subject.*

The customary way of approach has been through the general course in United States history; or, we might say more properly, the only use we ordinarily find for local history is for the illumination of national history. It goes without saying that there is opportunity for local history in this connection—indeed, much greater opportunity that we commonly make use of. Nevertheless, it seems to me that the opportunity here is inadequate. In addition to the fact that the history of most communities rarely has a vital relation to the main current of general history as we study it in the public schools, the time limitations of the history work in the schools usually make it difficult to pause for what too often seems a digression in the field of local history. At any rate, I believe I am safe in saying that, as a matter of fact, very few history teachers make any *systematic and organized* use of local history.

Indeed, it might often be easier to weave a considerable body of national history into a background of local history, than it is to weave the local into the national; just as it is possible to

organize general history about the biography of some public man, when there would be little opportunity to introduce much of the life of the man into the general history of his times. Thus, it would be impossible to write the life of James G. Blaine without involving most of the important political events of his time; but a general history of Blaine's time would afford little space to his life. He would lose his identity in the general movement.

This suggests the possibility of introducing into the curriculum a specific course in local history. Such a course could be made to unfold the fundamental principles of historical development almost as well as any other course in history. It would contain the universal motives to human action; the universal geographical conditions and influences; the law of development from the simple to the complex, from the homogeneous to the heterogeneous; the evolution of institutions to meet human needs. The fact that it deals with the near at hand and the familiar would tend to arouse a vital interest, as a study of the remote and unfamiliar does not. And it would afford opportunity, as already suggested, to weave in many phases of general history that would perhaps not be dealt with in the regular course in United States history.

But the introduction of a specific course in local history is open to two serious objections. The local history of most communities is not sufficiently varied and extensive to warrant spending much time on it as an end in itself; and the course of study is already subjected to the criticism of over-crowding.

It seems to me clear that local history in the schools must find its opportunity as a means to an end, rather than as an end in itself. We must find an economical way of utilizing it to further other ends in education, but of utilizing it in as systematic and coherent a manner as possible. I wish to offer a suggestion as to how this may be done, and I shall draw upon our experience in the public schools of Indianapolis.

First of all, let me say briefly that local history is furnishing the materials for some of the English work of the Junior year in Shortridge High School. In this case the word local applies to the entire State, and not merely to the locality of Indianapolis. The classes are doing creative work along the line of

dramatization, and they have been turned into the field of local history for the incidents to be reproduced. The work is under the direction of an able and enthusiastic teacher, and her aim is to have produced at the end of the year a pageant of Indiana history in simple dramatic form. The pupils are doing more industrious and enthusiastic work in local history that I have ever seen done in connection with an historical course, and they are doing it in order to get materials for a definite object.

Another illustration of the use of local history for other than historical ends may be taken from the lower grades—about the fourth grade, as I remember it. A few years ago one of our most skilful teachers of geography, Mrs. Ida Stearns Stickney, prepared for her own use in teaching local geography to young children a simple account of the founding and early years of Indianapolis, weaving into it well-selected descriptions of the geographical conditions, derived from the accounts of the early settlers themselves. The idea was to give to the children a vivid picture of the natural conditions of the land in their relations to the life of the people.

About the time that this local geographical work was well under way, a reorganization of the courses in the eighth grade and the first year of the high school occurred, and a course in elementary civics was introduced in the eighth grade. The nature of this course in civics will appear as we proceed, but its purpose is to develop in the child an understanding of the nature of community life, and a sense of his civic relations. This course was planned with definite reference to the use of local history to illustrate, in the simplest terms possible, the fundamental principles of community life. It was therefore suggested to Mrs. Stickney that she elaborate her account of early geographical conditions, telling the complete story of the first few years of the existence of Indianapolis, and emphasizing every important phase of community life as seen there. The result of her labors was the delightful little brochure, "Pioneer Indianapolis," which is now doing excellent service in the schools.

The literary merit of Mrs. Stickney's work was such (a thing unusual in local histories) that it was adopted as supplementary reading in the sixth grade. Thus, we now have in use in our

schools, as an aid to the work in geography, civics and reading, in the fourth, sixth and eighth grades, a coherent and well-organized history of a certain period of the growth of Indianapolis.

The influence of this little local history extends even farther than the schools. The idea interested the directors of the Indianapolis Commercial Club to such an extent that they shared the expense of its publication with the Board of School Commissioners, copies being distributed to all the 1,600 members of the club. It was published as the first number in a series of Civic Studies of Indianapolis, other numbers of which are to be historical, and some of which are in course of preparation, as, for example, "The Indianapolis Water Supply, Past and Present."

My chief purpose is to show how local history may be utilized as a means of civic instruction; and how, because of its usefulness in illuminating fundamental civic ideas, it may find its own opportunity for development in connection with a well-organized course in civics.

The one great function of the public school is to train for citizenship, which means, not merely the preparation of the youth for political activities, but the transformation of the individual into an efficient member of the community. And yet, in our work of education we fail to give enough attention to the real civic end, and to arouse in the children a consciousness of this end. We neglect to develop in the child the habit of thinking of himself as a member of a community, and the habit of acting with reference to community efficiency. The entire work of the school, and the entire organization of the school life, should contribute to the end of establishing in the mind of the child a consciousness of his civic relations in this broad sense. But there is need for specific instruction along this line; and this is the function of civics.

Our work in civics does not begin with an objective analysis of the machinery of government, abstracted from its relations to the community life; but it begins from the subjective standpoint of the child himself as a member of the community. The child is led to see that the community arrangements have been developed in order to aid him (and others) to satisfy their wants; he is led to see that certain of these arrangements, such as the

school, and especially government, have been evolved to meet his own needs by securing harmonious action, by preventing conflict of interests; step by step he is led to realize that that community is best to live in where the wants of each individual are most fully satisfied, and where there is as little conflict of interest as possible. The aim of civics is to impress the child with a sense of what the community does for him, and how it does it, and with a sense of his own responsibility to the community as a participator in its benefits and obligations.

I am aware that this is attributing to civics a broader scope than is customary; but I believe that this is right. For good citizenship is nothing more nor less than efficient membership in the community in the relationships of neighbor, of the family, of business, as well as in the political relationships. Government, however,—local, State and national,—is a unifying thread that runs throughout the entire course, and it is constantly brought into the foreground—but always in its proper perspective, and in its proper relations to the varied life of the community.

The first step in a course of civics of this kind is to try to develop in the child's mind a conception of the nature of community life and its relations. In order that the conception may be vivid, the child's study is directed, not to communities in the abstract, but to the particular community in which he lives. Reliance is placed largely upon direct observation and analysis of the concrete facts with which the child is familiar, working out from this to the less familiar and the general.

The opportunity for local history comes in this connection. The fully developed modern community is complex in the extreme, and it is not easy for the child to grasp its details of organization and function, or to understand his own relations to it. It becomes imperative to establish a sense of these relations with reference to a community of simpler form. This may be done in part by constantly using the class itself, or the school, or the family, as illustrations; for these social groups, especially the family, do possess the essential characteristics of the full-fledged community. We endeavor to keep the community idea prominent in the organization and conduct of our classes for this

purpose. But since the object of study is the larger community of which the child is a member, the problem is to present *its* relationships in a form simple enough for him to comprehend. This can be done by the use of local history.

In order to illustrate this idea, let us suppose that we have in Indianapolis an eighth grade class in civics. We have begun by an attempt to develop in the minds of the class a preliminary, but fairly clear, idea of the meaning of "community." It is brought out by discussion and by a consideration of various kinds of communities, that there must be first of all, of course, a group of people; that this group of people must occupy a common area of land, that is, have a common territory; that the group of people have come together in this common territory because of common interests; and that their conduct as a group is regulated by common laws which emanate from some form of government. The constant presence of these factors in community life is illustrated by the class, the school, the family, the neighborhood, the city, the State and the nation. It might be said that the word community is used in this course because of its elasticity, and its equal applicability to the nation or the city, the State or the neighborhood. But since we are a class in a city, we center our attention upon the idea of the city community, using the class, the school, the family and the neighborhood frequently by way of illustration, and broadening our view to include the State and the nation as we proceed—thus passing from the near to the distant, from the familiar to the unfamiliar.

One of the first lessons that we wish to learn is that the land is not merely a place where the community life goes on, but that it is a factor that enters vitally into the life of the community; that it in a measure determines the nature and course of the community life; that, as the community develops, the land becomes transformed; and that one of the functions of government is to aid the people to get proper control of the land. The extent of the present control of environment, and the extent to which it enters into our present life, is made more emphatic by contrast with the conditions of pioneer life; and so we send the children to *Pioneer Indianapolis*, where they read

such passages as this: "Yet with all these natural advantages, a corn crop was secured by a fighting chance only. There were other creatures interested. Wild turkeys scratched for it; woodpeckers took the sprouting plants; raccoons ate it on the ear; but the worst enemies were the squirrels." Or, again: "One reason for locating at this point was that it was nearer the center of the State than either of the other points [under consideration]. Another was that this point furnished the best location for boat landing. . . . ; and, as a further reason, Fall creek was on the east side [of the river] and was the stream upon which the mills were to be built, and the town and mills should be on the same side of the river." And, once more, in an advertisement of the first sale of lots in the new capital site: "It is situated on a high, dry, uninterrupted plain of several miles' extent, perfectly free from inundation, marshes and ponds. The site of the town and the surrounding country is in an eminent degree beautiful and fertile, and is probably the best body of land in the State. The plan of the town is calculated to insure the health, comfort and convenience of its inhabitants. . . . Good wholesome water may be had at the depth of twenty feet in any part of it in a sandy stratum."

The second factor in community life—the group of people—is taken up in a similar way for a preliminary study. In the course of our study we shall have to deal with the great group of people which constitutes the American nation, the group that makes up the population of the State of Indiana, and that of the city of Indianapolis. We shall have to consider the diverse elements that compose these groups, the process of transforming them into homogeneous communities, the influence of the various foreign elements, and the process of making citizens of them. But we begin with our own local community in its beginnings and try to understand the gathering together of diverse elements here, and the characteristics of the group resulting. We read, in *Pioneer Indianapolis*, that the people came mostly in family groups, and that they came from widely separated parts of the Union, bringing with them varying characteristics. Thus: "Christopher Ladd moved all the way from South Carolina on a sled." "Mrs. Nancy Forsythe traveled from Kentucky on

horseback, carrying a baby on her lap, who in turn carried the family cat." In 1821 Andrew Pierce walked to "the New Purchase from Pittsburgh." "In May, 1821, Col. Alexander W. Russell brought in a keel-boat with provisions from Frankfort, Ky. He descended the Kentucky and Ohio Rivers without trouble. The Wabash and White Rivers he ascended by what is called cordelling. . . . It took him six weeks to ascend these two rivers." In this connection the children gain an idea of early transportation; but this is developed more at length in a later connection.

It is then observed that the group of people who occupy the land together are engaged in a great variety of activities for the purpose of satisfying the different kinds of wants that all have in common. I wish I could take the time to make clear by illustration how this subject is brought before the children; but it must suffice to say that the purpose, at this stage of the course, is to get vividly before the pupils the *motives* of community life. They learn that there is a certain set of activities for the preservation of life and health; another set to satisfy the desire to own things (that men call wealth); another set to gratify the intellectual wants; and still other sets of activities to fulfill the desires for beauty, for right living (religion), and for sociability. The pupil learns not only that all activities of the community are traceable to these motives, but that all the *institutions* of community life, such as schools, banks, churches, railroads, streets, and government itself, have developed in order that these wants may be provided for.

The story of the pioneer community shows most interestingly the presence of all these interests, and it shows how they were the stimuli for the development of the various phases of the early community life; but it shows also how, under the hard conditions of pioneer life, isolated from civilization as it was, the several interests received only partial satisfaction. To watch the unfolding of the community from this standpoint is fascinating, and gives a conception of the nature of the community relations that can hardly be acquired in any other way.

In the story of pioneer life interest naturally centers in the family. This is because the life of the pioneer community is

largely a family life. Abundance of material is available, as will be seen farther on, to illustrate the important fact that the chief agency for providing for the wants of the individual in the beginnings of community life is the family. Health was looked after, industrial pursuits were carried on, education was provided, the esthetic, religious and social interests were satisfied, almost wholly by the family group. Even government itself was at first largely a matter of family life. And then it is easy to trace how, as the community grows, other special arrangements are developed to provide for the interests of the people with greater efficiency than the family could do alone. But the ultimate lesson to be emphasized is that, even under the complex conditions of modern life, the family remains one of the most powerful forces for good or evil in the community life. The family has been called "the school of all the virtues" that go to make good citizenship. "No matter how good the doctors" nor how efficient the board of health, "the health of the people in any community depends more on the family than on anything else. No matter how efficient the schools, a great responsibility rests on the family for the proper education of the children. No matter how many social organizations there may be in the community, the social life of the home is the most important of all and the most far-reaching in its results. No matter how excellent the government of a community may be, it can have little good result if proper government in the home is lacking."

Let us now suppose that we have passed the preliminary consideration of the elements of community life, such as have been suggested in this inadequate way. We have observed the importance of the land as a factor in community life. We have made a preliminary examination of the group of people—its composition, its origin, its growth, etc. We have looked into the motives of community life, and have gained a preliminary conception of how community life has been developed for the purpose of satisfying human wants. We have given considerable attention to the family as a little community which has important civic functions; and we have made clear the need for government, and its relation to the community life.

And now the next idea that we wish to make plain is, that in

order to assure the successful development of the community there must be permanent and definite relations established between the people and the land. This idea has already been suggested when we were studying the site of the community; but now we wish to develop it more systematically, and to introduce particularly the governmental functions in this respect. The topic includes, among other things, what the formal text-books call the "territorial functions" of government.

We may turn at once to local history as a means of approach to the subject. We may notice, first, the unsettled life of the Indians in our locality at the time of settlement. Their relations to the land they occupied were unsettled and indefinite, and so long as this was the case, the life of the Indian must of necessity be uncivilized. Every step that was taken by uncivilized man to establish more definite and permanent relations with the soil was a step in the direction of civilization.

Then, the children may read of the purchase of the land from the Indians by the national government (*Pioneer Indianapolis*, p. 6): "In 1818 our national government bought of the Indians the entire White river valley. The treaty, called the Treaty of St. Mary's, was made in Ohio at the head waters of White river. By its terms the Delawares would in three years again be forced to surrender their lands and become pilgrims. It is said that when the treaty was signed several of the chiefs wept. The government paid the Indians for their lands in annual payments. William Conner was the agent. He was strictly honest with them." A little color is put into the account by a description of the way the payments were made: "The Indians grouped themselves in families and the family groups sat in a circle on the prairie which surrounded Mr. Conner's home. The men were to be paid in dollars, the women in half-dollars, and the children in quarters. First all were given as many little sticks as they were to receive coins. As Mr. Conner passed around the circle handing out the coins the sticks were returned to him. When the sticks were gone the Indians knew that they had received all that was coming to them."

But the value of this episode is to help in explaining how our nation has acquired its territory by purchase and by con-

quest. Notice that it is the *national* government that made the purchase, and that the land became *public domain* to be controlled and organized by the national government.

After the acquisition of the territory, however, the work of actual settlement was carried on chiefly by family groups who, by establishing homes and beginning the exploitation of the natural resources, not only benefited themselves, but performed a service to the entire nation by fixing definite relations with the land. We read (p. 8): "They had no legal right as yet to the land, but it was generally understood that if a man built a cabin and blazed the trees around his land he would be permitted to enter the land in 1821, when the time of Indian occupation would expire. . . . Within a year settlers' cabins had risen on choicest sites over the whole valley." "The whole of central Indiana was then owned by the general government, unsurveyed, mostly unoccupied" (p. 16).

Incidents such as these are used, not only to illustrate the service of the family in establishing relations with the land, but also to show how the national government, in order to assure the families of their rights to the land, and also to secure the development of the public land, enacted various land laws, culminating in the Homestead Act. It also introduces the subject of the congressional survey which was undertaken for the same purposes; of course in this connection the method of the survey is explained, and maps of our own locality, showing the lines established, examined.

The function of the national government in organizing the public domain into territories for governmental purposes, the fixing of territorial and State boundaries, can be clearly shown by the history of the Northwest Territory, of its division into smaller territories, and of the final admission of these territories as States.

Indiana was admitted to the Union in 1816. The State needed land for its own uses as a seat of government. And so we read (p. 21): "When the Treaty of St. Mary's was made in 1818, the government gave to the State four square miles of the land of the New Purchase for the capital city, the location to be selected by the State. The State legislature chose ten commission-

ers and instructed them to select a site as near the center of the State as possible." General Tipton was a member of this commission, and we have his journal, a part of which is quoted in *Pioneer Indianapolis*, giving the details of the search for a suitable site.

The capital site having been chosen, it must be surveyed and divided into lots for homes, for business purposes, and for public buildings. This was done by the State government. "Mr. Alexander Ralston was appointed as one of the surveyors. He had assisted in laying off the city of Washington. Very much of the Washington plan entered into the plan for the capital of Indiana. The four square miles that had been given by the government for the city was deemed altogether too large; the plan as made included but one square mile. The rest of the land was known as "out lots," and was fenced in for pasture. The early settlers called the square mile the "Corporation" and the four square miles the "Donation" (p. 26). In connection with this account the pupils examine maps of the original survey. One of the early settlers said: "I remember well the surveyors showing the diagram of the town to my father. I remember how the talented old Scotchman dilated upon the future of the capital in the woods. He remarked that should ever half of the survey be improved, what a beautiful town it would make."

I can not refrain from reading the following statement about Mr. Ralston from the pages of *Pioneer Indianapolis*, not only because it illustrates how important the work of surveying the land was considered by the people of the community, but because it also illustrates how local color is added to the work we are doing, how we endeavor to make the children acquainted with the builders of our own community, and how we emphasize the value of community service by means of local biographical sketches: "Most of the pioneers have felt that we have not yet paid our debt to Alexander Ralston. Mr. Ralston lived and died in this city; he was buried in the old cemetery. Mr. Samuel Merrill, in 1827, edited *The Journal*. He urged the people at that time to remember that Mr. Ralston in the beginning had asked for the reservation of land for a spacious park." Another old settler writes: "I was four years of age; I often saw Mr. Rals-

ton. I remember him as a venerable and refined looking man, with fine silky gray hair that flowed in profusion over his shoulders. . . . An incident told me by my mother attests his benevolent disposition. In the winter of 1821-'22 the cold was exceedingly severe. . . . All the streams were frozen solid, so that the cows and other beasts could not obtain water. Each morning during this severe weather Mr. Ralston would be seen at his well drawing water for his neighbors' cattle. This being done he would go into his house and obtain a supply of corn and bread, which he would scatter to the birds that came by hundreds around his dwelling."

The land having been surveyed, preparation was made for the sale of lots. The sale was advertised in the *Indiana Sentinel*, published at Vincennes.

"At last the ninth day of October came. It was a bleak, desolate day. The one-horse wagon of Mr. James Blake was backed up against the window of the cabin to be used as an office. Old Tommy Carter soon mounted the wagon as auctioneer. . . . James M. Ray was clerk of the sale. . . . The sale continued one week. There was not the least disturbance of any kind. Their money was almost entirely gold and silver, and was left in leather bags wherever they could procure shelter, and was considered as safe as it would be now in the vaults of our banks. . . . The highest price paid for a lot was five hundred dollars. . . . This was an uptown lot . . . and was the choice lot because opposite the proposed site for the court-house. The average price paid for lots was one hundred thirteen dollars. The 'out lots,' now the residence portion of the city, with many business centers, sold for ten, twenty and thirty dollars. . . . The constant arrival of people, the laying out of the town, and the sale of lots, brought new life, and the people went to work with fresh courage to turn the wilderness into a place for comfortable living."

Another set of relations between the people and the land is established for political purposes. Thus: "The settled parts of the State were organized into counties, as in other States, chiefly for judicial purposes. Previous to 1821 the New Purchase was all a part of one enormous county, Delaware county, with the

county seat at Connorsville, sixty miles from Indianapolis. To this distant place the citizens of Indianapolis went if for any reason they had to appear before the court. In 1821 the citizens of the settlement held a public meeting in Hawkins's Tavern to consider the matter of organizing a county. Two citizens were appointed to attend the legislature at Corydon and petition for the organization. On December 31 the act was passed, and the erection of a court-house provided for in the court-house square. . . . At first Johnson, Hamilton, and a large part of Boone, Madison and Hancock counties, were attached to Marion county for judicial purposes. . . .

"The county commissioners proceeded to divide the county into thirteen townships, four of which afterward went into other counties. Magistrates were elected for each of the townships, and constables were appointed. The commissioners also authorized the building of roads, etc.

"Down to 1832 the little community of Indianapolis had no separate organization for local government apart from the county and State governments. . . . But in September of 1832 a public meeting was held in the court-house to consider the incorporation of the town under an act of the legislature. The incorporation took place. Five trustees were elected, and five wards created, as follows" [boundaries given]. (*Pioneer Indianapolis*, pp. 64-66.)

But the government has done a great deal more to establish permanent and definite relations between the people and the land besides making land laws, surveying the public lands, and organizing territorial divisions for political purposes. It has aided the people to get control of the natural resources; it has drained swamps and preserved forests; it has protected against floods by the building of levees; it has built roads; it has set aside land for parks, schools and public buildings; it has granted franchises to corporations for the use of public property; it controls the use of private property for the public good; it has exercised the right of eminent domain. These are tremendously important functions of government, and are sometimes exercised by the national, sometimes by the State, and sometimes

by the various forms of local government. More or less important illustrations of all these points may be drawn from the local history of our own community.

From this point in our course the method of procedure is to take up the several interests with which the pupils are now familiar, and to show how community life takes these interests into account, how the organization of the community is planned with reference to them, and how government is related to these interests of the individual and of the community as a whole. I can only give a partial idea of the development of this part of the course.

1. Physical Interests. The aim under this topic is to make a lasting impression on the child regarding the importance of public health, the peculiar necessity for watchfulness against dangers to health under the conditions of modern life, especially in cities; the dependence of the individual upon others for his physical welfare; the responsibility of each individual for the public health; and the mechanism of the community, including government, that has been developed for the protection of the public health. This is a rich field and one that easily interests the children. But the magnitude of the work done by the community with reference to health is made much more impressive by showing the origin and development both of the peculiar dangers of modern life and of the means of protection. The importance of the subject from the community standpoint may be introduced by the following: "In the summer [of 1822] the work of surveying . . . was interrupted by the visitation of a strange sickness that brought great suffering and almost starvation to the settlers. There was an epidemic, and very few escaped. Often there were not enough that were well to care for those that were sick, and many were entirely without provisions. Those that had, shared with those that had not; and they cared for one another with a devotion that bound them together as one family. [Note unorganized, unspecialized co-operation.]

"The sickness was not confined to Indianapolis, but extended to all parts of the forest region. In Indianapolis alone there

were seventy-two deaths (one-eighth of the population). . . . Each year the sickness returned during the month of July or August, but never again in such a fatal form. When the frosts of October came it would cease. It was called at first the autumnal sickness, and was dreaded as a pestilence. In two months of every summer little labor could be performed. From twenty to forty years, according to location, it continued and defied the skill of the physicians. The popular name for it in later years was "chills and fever" or "fever and ague." . . . It is well that we should know the great sacrifice of the pioneers and the bitter cost to them of the healthful conditions that we enjoy here to-day.

"The growth of the town was interrupted and its reputation suffered. Many people came, but as many others passed through to the prairie settlements. David Turpie says the cause of the sickness was the turning up of too much fresh and fever-laden soil. Mr. Holloway gives this explanation of the sickness: 'The dense forests sheltered the soil from the sun, and, compelling it to retain its moisture, the broad and swampy bottoms, the marshes and the frequent freshets made this the very home of chills and fever.' It was not known in those days that malaria is carried from marshes and pools of water by mosquitoes. The soil was everywhere wet; there was much decay of leaves in the forest, and too little opportunity for the sun to do its work of evaporation and germ-killing. The gradual clearing of the wet lands, and the use of drainage tiles in later years, proved the remedy, and now a case of fever and ague is almost unknown."

"The people, many of them, were too poor to pay the doctors. They (the doctors) would wear themselves out in pulling through the almost impassable roads . . . and all for the charge of fifty cents and the price of medicines." (*Pioneer Indianapolis*, pp. 30 ff.)

"Our town, like all newly settled places, requires seasoning before a person can be strictly healthy."

Later we read that in 1832 the town was incorporated, and in 1836 and 1838 new incorporation acts were passed. With the

development of government we read of the establishment of underdrainage, and of other organized measures for the protection of health, accompanied by a cessation of the "autumnal fevers."

I have referred to the history of the Indianapolis water supply that is now in preparation. This naturally includes a discussion of certain phases of sanitary history, and will be of great use in connection with the study of public health. On the basis of this historical preparation, the pupils take great interest in the observation and analysis of present health conditions and the means of health protection. In order to indicate the possible effectiveness of the work done, I may say that last winter the discussion of this topic of public health in the eighth grade classrooms led directly to a movement, participated in by the civic organizations of our city, and with the active cooperation of the proper government officials and the street railway company, that resulted in a thorough cleaning up of the street-cars and the sidewalks.

2. Economic Interests. Only this morning I read, in a review of Lincoln Steffens' book, "The Struggle for Self-Government": "If it is true, as is so stoutly contended, that morals in commerce and industry are low, this condition is certain to affect politics, because of the intimate relations of government to business. Permanently higher standards in public life must obviously be accompanied with higher standards in business life." It is a legitimate function of civics in the public schools, indeed a most important function, to cultivate in our pupils a proper conception of the civic aspects of business life. Again it is impossible at this time to enter into the method of doing this; but it may be said that it is not to be accomplished by mere moral precept, but rather by making the community relations of business life a living thing in the minds of the pupils. The modern structure of the business world is complex, and its relations to government difficult to understand. But the fundamental principles of industrial organization, and its relations to the life of the community, together with the function and machinery of government for regulating it, may be clarified to a

large extent by a judicious use of illustrations from local history. For example, the following quotations from *Pioneer Indianapolis*:

"The men were most of them poor, very few having money enough to enter a section of land at once; yet they did not come so much to acquire wealth as to establish homes" (p. 8).

"In November, 1821, William McLaughlin and family encamped on a quarter section three miles southeast of Indianapolis. When they arrived they had just four dollars in cash left to support a large family. . . . Mrs. McLaughlin sent her most valuable coverlet to help pay for the corn." "Like the settlers of Plymouth these western Pilgrims were sustained during their first months of hardship by the Indian corn. One pioneer goes so far as to say that he does not see how Indiana could have been settled at the time it was but for the corn." "The pioneers represented the trades and professions, yet all were farmers here in the beginning and the first crop was corn" (p. 10).

"Give the pioneer farmer an axe and an auger, or in lieu of the last a burning iron, and he could make almost any machine he was wont to work with. With his sharp axe he could not only cut the logs for his cabin and notch them down, but he could make a close-fitting door and supply it with wooden hinges and a neat latch. From the roots of an oak or ash he could fashion his hames and sled-runners, make an axle-tree for his wagon, make a rake, a flax-brake, a barrow, a scythe-snath, a grain cradle, a pitchfork, a loom, a reel, a washboard, a stool, a chair, a table, a bedstead, a dresser and a cradle in which to rock the baby. If he was more than ordinarily clever he repaired his own cooperage, and adding a drawing knife to his kit of tools, he even went so far as to make his own casks, tubs and buckets. He made and mended his own shoes" (p. 11).

"There being no mills to grind the corn into meal, the settlers substituted what was known as lye hominy, and a kind of meal made by pounding the corn in what were called mortars. . . . Mr. Bush, who was a Vermonter, and who had brought with him quite a variety of tools, procured from White river some stones, out of which he made two small millstones, and then prepared the necessary woodwork for putting the same in running

condition, and fastened the mill up to a hackberry tree on the west bank of the river, the motive power being a long beam operated by horse-power, a raw-hide rope being used for belting. . . . No toll was charged at this mill. All that was required was that each person should furnish his own horse. This was the first mill built in 'The New Purchase' " (p. 17-18).

"They bought as little as possible from Whitewater, for the distance made prices high. A single yard of coarse cotton cloth cost forty cents, and a bushel of salt, two and one-half dollars. Money was very scarce, and what they had, except the big copper cents, was Spanish or Mexican money. One settler who lived some distance out from the village said that he worked all day cutting down trees, and all night hunting raccoons, for raccoon skins alone brought money. Most of the business was carried on by trade or barter" (p. 32).

"Coopers and tanners, cabinet-makers and blacksmiths belonged to every town. Industries were widely distributed. Cotton and woolen mills taxed the power of every running stream, and the jolly miller was omnipresent to accommodate any one who had grist to grind. . . . The village merchant furnished the dry goods and groceries. The countryman found ready market for his stuff. The village shoemaker was Sir Oracle to those who visited for cobbling or to be measured for a new pair of shoes. In those days food was home grown. Beef and bacon were home cured and clothing home spun. The honest blue-jeans which most of us wore came from the skilful indigo dye of good Mrs. Crow, who also spun the wool from the rolls carded by John Manly, which was afterward sent to be transformed into cloth by Billy Smith, the weaver" (p. 33).

"The *Gazette*, in February, 1822, said that improvement had been going on. Forty residences and several workshops had been built, a gristmill and two sawmills were in operation, and more were in progress. There were thirteen carpenters, four cabinet-makers, eight blacksmiths, four shoemakers, two tailors, one hatter, two tanners, one saddler, one cooper, four bricklayers, two merchants, three grocers, four doctors, three lawyers, one preacher, one teacher and seven tavern keepers" (p. 41).

These quotations, selected from many, give an idea of the beginnings of economic life, the division of labor, cooperation, etc. The subject of transportation and communication is closely related to the economic life of the community. The following quotations suggest its importance:

"In nothing else," says Judge Banta, "is there a more marked change than in the condition of the roads. The old jest of the stage-coach passenger walking and carrying a fence-rail to pry the vehicle out of the mud-holes, had its foundation in fact" (p. 9). "In the village gradual improvement was taking place. The old forest trails were being changed into roads, very muddy, to be sure, and full of stumps, but they made a beginning" (p. 36). "The streets, little used, were filled with brush. . . . The first roads to the outskirts were county roads. . . . The legislature appropriated one hundred thousand dollars for roads in 1822" (p. 41). We also read of the attempt to prove the White river navigable, and of the act of legislature declaring nearly every stream in Indiana navigable; and finally, "The modern period of our community's growth may be said to have begun in 1847. In that year the first railway reached the community, connecting it with the outside world, and introducing it to the spirit of modern life. In that year, also, Indianapolis entered the city stage of government" (p. 66).

In this same connection the following extract has an interest: "One very constant source of trouble in the settlement was the lack of postal facilities. Connorsville for two years had to be depended on for communication with the outside world; it was the nearest post-office, and sixty miles away. During the season of muddy roads, which was nine months in the year, it took three or four days to get through. . . . At first (letters) reached the settlers here in a very roundabout way, being brought by any one who lived on the road, and passed along from cabin to cabin, but a meeting of citizens, held in Hawkins's Tavern, resulted in their employing a private carrier. . . . He came galloping into the village usually at nightfall, the sound of his horn beginning to echo through the woods as soon as he reached Pogue's run, and all the people

would rush out to meet him and hear the news. . . . In 1822 President Monroe gave the town a post-master. . . . The mails were carried on horseback until the days of the stage-coach" (p. 39).

The functions of our governments in protecting property, in regulating commerce and industry, in the building of roads, in establishing and regulating means of communication, are developed in the light of such facts as the preceding.

3. The intellectual interests of the early community and their satisfaction can be illustrated by many extracts. The following will suffice:

"In that most interesting book on pioneer days, 'Sketches of My Own Times,' Mr. Turpie gives a pretty picture of his lesson days. Mr. Turpie did not live in Indianapolis, but pioneer life was about the same all over The New Purchase:

"'There was but one schoolhouse in the settlement; it was used only in winter; it was four or five miles from our place. The weather was cold and the way too long. Children were taught the rudiments of learning at home. Thursday and Saturday were lesson days in the afternoon. My mother sat at the end of the table; we at the sides. We learned to read, to write, and to cipher as far as long division. The pens were made of goose or turkey quills, the ink from walnut hulls; it was dark brown, had a good flow, and our work was quite legible.

"'Those of us who were old enough, read in turn from some book in my father's collection. He had about thirty books—a large library for the time and place. Among these were Pilgrim's Progress, A History of the United States, Weems's Life of Washington, The Life of Marion, Hume's English History, Cowper's Poems, and Robinson Crusoe. The exercise lasted about three hours. My mother was an excellent teacher; we all made fair progress, anxious to please her. On Sunday we read from the Bible in the same manner, either the Old or New Testament. She accompanied the reading with explanations, plain and simple, and afterwards asked questions to test our memory. Sometimes the children from a neighbor's house

would join us in these Scripture readings and we would return their visit.'

"About where Kentucky avenue enters Illinois street, and near a pond, a log schoolhouse was built during the first year. It was used for church services on Sunday, and also as an assembly room. Mr. Reed taught the first quarter. The next year arrangements were made for a permanent school. Mr. Calvin Fletcher was chosen as one of the first trustees. This description of a similar schoolhouse will give an idea of the schoolroom of pioneer days in The New Purchase. 'It was of round logs, about twenty feet square, with a fireplace in one end eight feet wide. The outside was a bank of dirt surrounded by logs. On an appointed day the neighbors all assembled to transform it into a schoolhouse. One log was cut out of the side for light, little sticks were fastened across at intervals, and then greased paper fastened on instead of glass. A door was cut in one end, then the splinters were shaved from a puncheon, large wooden pins were fastened in the wall, and the puncheon laid on them and fastened down for a writing desk. The seats were made of saplings about eight inches in diameter, split, and wooden legs fastened in. On the morning that school opened the parents came with their children from all directions, cutting paths and blazing trees as guides for the children, some of them having as far as three miles to come to school.'

"There were no blackboards, nor was there light enough to see the writing had there been any. It was very fortunate for the health of the children that the school term lasted only about twelve weeks. Sometimes they had good teachers, sometimes poor ones, and occasionally they could get none at all.

"They learned a little in the schoolroom, but these pioneer children received most of their education in the great out-of-door school, at work with their parents, or playing with their companions in forest and by stream. They grew strong and straight and tall like the Indians; and, like them, their eyes were quick to see, their ears eager to listen, and their hands ready to do. There was plenty of arithmetic, manual training, and physical culture for the boys in the work they did with their

fathers, building and plastering cabins, making furniture, rolling and hauling logs, chopping wood, deadening and cutting down trees, splitting rails, making fences and roads, plowing the fields, weighing and curing the meats, tanning the leather, measuring the corn, planning a wagon, carving horn, and whittling toys.

"The girls learned as much with their mothers in helping to do the spinning, weaving, sewing, knitting and cooking; in dipping the candles, braiding the mats and hats, picking the geese, sunning the feathers and furs, caring for the garden, hunting the eggs, feeding the chickens, calves, and young lambs, making the butter and cheese, cutting and sewing the rags for the carpet, gathering the herbs, and picking the berries. You see the parents were the teachers and the children were educated through work. In washing and shearing the sheep, driving and milking the cows, planting and harvesting the crops, in climbing the trees for nuts and fruits, in feeding the stock, trapping the game, catching the fish, gathering the honey, making the sugar and picking the apples, in studying the sky for the weather, in searching the river banks for relics and shells, and in driving the cows through the wooded paths, they gained so much knowledge about soils and stones, plants and trees, birds and animals, and moon and stars, that they have been teaching us ever since through books they wrote." (*Pioneer Indianapolis*, pp. 44-48.)

In the light of these facts our present educational system derives new significance, and we have a new point of view from which to approach the subject of the civic value of education, and the work of local, State and national government for the education of the people.

4. Esthetic Interests. We are still too busy in America, apparently, to give much systematic attention to civic beauty. And yet this is one phase of community life that is extremely important and, fortunately, is receiving more and more attention in our cities as time goes on. It is one of the interests that need cultivation. It is not surprising to find that in the hard conditions of pioneer life little positive attention seems to be given to the subject, and government is seldom recorded as having

done anything for the esthetic interests of the people until comparatively recently. Nevertheless, we find the esthetic interests present even in the early days. Thus, we read that "every cabin had a garden which sun and soil gave over to luxuriance. The rivermen had brought from the south the seeds of a strange plant—the love-apple, or tomato, and it was grown in these gardens as a curiosity, and used for decoration; it was never eaten."

5 and 6. Religious and Social Interests. I shall not take time to dwell upon these, nor to read extracts from *Pioneer Indianapolis* to show how prominent these interests were in the early days. Illustrations could be found in great abundance.

Having now carried the pupil through a course of training in the fundamental principles of community life in its varied phases, and having led him to see how the citizen is brought in contact with government in every phase of this life, and how government—local, State and national—operates to the end of securing fullness of life on the part of every citizen, our course in civics concludes with a discussion of how the people govern themselves, of successes and failures of our system of self-government, and of a more or less detailed, though elementary, analysis of the governmental machinery—local, State and national.

In this connection, again, local as well as general history assists us greatly to an understanding of the nature and organization of government, and of the reasons underlying our American system of division of powers. We are now planning the preparation of some special brochures to assist us on this side of our work. For example, we hope to have in a short time, a complete but simple history of the development of the Indianapolis city government.

In concluding my paper, allow me to say that I greatly fear that I may have left some false impressions with you. My own personal interest is primarily in the problem of civics in the public schools, rather than in local history as an end in itself. I wish, therefore, that I might have left with you a more coherent and complete notion of the plan of civics work that I am es-

pecially interested in. On the contrary, I have not only failed to do this, but I have run the risk of giving you a positively erroneous impression of what we are doing in this line. As I read over this paper I feel that the impression is likely to be left that the civics is a mere incident woven into a substantial course in local history. This is not the case. The local history is used freely, but only as illustrative material to interest the child, and to make plain principles of civic life. Our classes give most of their time to the observation and analysis of present conditions.

Please bear in mind that my purpose has not been to discuss the subject of civics, and that I have gone into the subject at all only because it has been necessary in order to make clear my claim that in connection with civics we may find a most appropriate and effective use for local history as a means to an end; and that, *because* of its utility in this connection, local history thus finds its *own* opportunity for a more *systematic and organized* treatment than it can well receive in any other connection in the course of study.

CYRUS WILBURN HODGIN.

CYRUS WILBURN HODGIN was born February 12, 1842, in Randolph county, Indiana. His parents were Friends who emigrated from North Carolina because of the slavery system of the South. His father was an Abolitionist, and would pay willingly, though a poor man, two or three prices for an article, rather than buy the cheaper, equally good, but made by the labor of slaves. This willingness to make personal sacrifice to maintain a principle was transmitted to the son. Professor Hodgin's ancestry on his father's side was English and Welsh, and on his mother's, Holland Dutch and Irish. His mother taught school before her marriage, and he on learning this, at the age of six or seven, determined that he would be a teacher, too. This determination was never shaken, though his father offered him a small farm, if he would cultivate it. A friend offered him a remunerative position in a bank with the opportunity of becoming a partner, and like offers were declined.

Up to the age of fifteen years, his educational opportunities were very limited. At this time, he entered Whitewater Academy, a Friends' school at Richmond, taught by Hiram Hadley, a teacher of more than ordinary energy and success. At nineteen, he became an assistant in this school. In the autumn of 1864, he entered the Illinois State Normal University at Bloomington, that being the nearest school of the kind. This step was taken in the feeling of the need for better preparation for the responsibilities of the teacher's work. Here, by teaching classes in the model school, and by manual labor out of school, he paid the greater part of his expenses through the three years' course of study, graduating in 1867. In the autumn of the same year, he was married to a classmate, Miss E. Caroline Chandler, of Williamsport, Indiana. The next two years were spent in teaching, in Richmond, Indiana, the greater part of the time as principal of the high school. The three years following, he was

principal of a township graded school in Henry county. In the fall of 1872, he was called to the Indiana State Normal School, but recently opened at Terre Haute, and there he remained nine years, at the head of the Department of History and Civil Government. By his work in county institutes throughout the State, he did much to popularize the work of the normal school, and to bring to it earnest young men and women, for better preparation for their life work. He was actively engaged in county teachers' institute work for more than twenty-five years.

In 1881, he resigned his position in the State Normal School, and, after a year's rest, was elected superintendent of the city schools of Rushville, Indiana. The next year, he took charge of the Richmond Normal School, and continued his work here until 1887, when he accepted the position of professor of history and political economy in Earlham College, which position he held until the time of his death.

Professor Hodgins was, for many years, identified with work in temperance reform, writing and speaking much in its behalf. He was also actively engaged in the work of promoting international peace and arbitration.

As an author, in 1880, he published "An Outline of a Course of Study in United States History;" in 1891, as a supplement to Doyle's American Citizen, "Outline of Civil Government in Indiana;" in 1893, "Indiana and the Nation;" 1893, "A Study of the American Commonwealth," joint editor with Professor Woodburn, of the State University; in 1897, "Sketch of the History of Indiana," for Lossing's Encyclopedia of United States History. For a number of years, he had been looking forward to the writing of a history of Indiana, but this work he was not privileged to complete. He has been a frequent contributor to the *Indiana School Journal*, and some other educational papers.

Professor Hodgins was, for a long time, identified with the work of the Indiana State Teachers' Association, the Indiana State History Teachers' Association, the Indiana Historical Society, the National Educational Association, and the American Historical Association. He was also one of the mainstays of

the Wayne County Historical Society, of which he was president.

He believed that instruction in history should not only inform the intellect of the student, but that it should inspire, strengthen and purify his life. In his death, the historical interests of Indiana have lost one of their best counselors and guides, and the State of Indiana one of her noble citizens.

HARLOW LINDLEY.

CHARLES B. LASSELLE.

THE death of Judge Lasselle removes from the State one who has been in many respects closely connected with its history. His long life lacks but little of spanning the period during which Indiana has been a State in the Union. He has not only held important public positions, but has always interested himself in the record of what others have done. His historical collection, which now passes into the possession of the State Library by purchase from the executors of the estate, and concerning which a notice appears on another page of this magazine, is one of the most valuable in the State. An article written by Judge Lasselle some time ago appeared in the June number of this year.

The following account is taken from *The Daily Tribune* of Logansport, Tuesday, September 29, and the *Logansport Semi-Weekly Report* of Wednesday, September 30:

C. B. Lasselle, veteran attorney and probate commissioner, died at the St. Joseph Hospital, Sunday evening, September 27, where he had been confined as a patient for more than two years. Deceased was eighty-nine years of age, and his protracted illness was due to old age. Mr. Lasselle left few relatives and practically no estate, although he was at one time wealthy.

Charles B. Lasselle was born at Vincennes, October 12, 1819, and was a descendant from the old stock of French pioneers who

explored and settled the Wabash valley. His paternal ancestors emigrated from Paris, about the year 1680, and settled in Canada, where they remained for nearly a century. His father was born at Kekionga (at the present site of Ft. Wayne) in 1777 and is said to have been the first white child born in the State north of Vincennes. His mother was the daughter of Francis Bosseron, of Revolutionary fame, who was afterward of considerable prominence in the War of 1812.

In 1833, Mr. Lasselle, with his parents, moved from Vincennes to Cass county, settling on the north side of the Wabash river, three miles from the city, later becoming residents of the town. During the spring and fall of 1833 he attended school in the old seminary, then the only school north of the Wabash in the State. In 1836 he attended Indiana University at Bloomington, and stayed until 1839, when he began the study of law with the late D. D. Pratt. In 1842 he was admitted to the bar. In 1847 he was elected prosecuting attorney. Closing his term three years later, he became editor of the *Logansport Telegraph*, a weekly paper. In 1862 he was elected over Mr. Pratt to the State legislature and was re-elected at the end of his term. In 1868 he was elected State Senator and resigned twice, being re-elected each time.

In the early eighties Mr. Lasselle was elected mayor of Logansport. He was appointed probate commissioner of the court, which carried but a small salary, in order that the veteran lawyer might have this little income. When he became infirm and unable to look after the duties of his office, they were taken up by Judge John S. Lairy, and the salary of \$400 a year ever since his confinement in the hospital has been drawn by Judge Lairy and turned over to the sisters of the hospital.

INDIANA QUARTERLY MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

Indiana State Library, Indianapolis
Published by the Indiana Historical Society
CHRISTOPHER B. COLEMAN, *Editor*

EDITORIAL.

ILLINOIS HISTORICAL SOCIETIES.

The Illinois Historical Collections, Volume III, constituting the first volume of the Lincoln Series, gives a good occasion for a description of some of the historical work now being done in our neighboring State. This volume, edited by Dr. E. E. Sparks, now president of Pennsylvania State College, sometime professor of American history in the University of Chicago, is one of the most timely and most generally useful publications ever published by an historical organization in the middle west. It contains the full text of the Lincoln-Douglas debates of 1858, carefully edited, and in addition copious illustrative material and newspaper comments taken from the most important papers of the time. The series to which it belongs is being published by the trustees of the State Historical Library by means of an appropriation from the State.

It is only about nine years since work of this sort was begun in a serious way in Illinois. At that time the publications of the State Historical Library began, and from the same time dates the organization of the State Historical Society. The first volume of the Illinois Historical Collections, the title under which the larger and more important publications are issued, was gotten out in 1903. In addition to this series the State Historical Library now publishes an annual volume of Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society, periodical Bulletins of the Historical Library, and Journals of the Historical Society.

In Illinois a somewhat peculiar dual organization exists. The State Historical Library (which, it should be said, is entirely separate and distinct from the State Library), is a creature of the State, furnished with quarters in the capitol, maintained

entirely by appropriations from the State Legislature, and controlled by a State board of trustees. It gets out all the publications of the State Historical Society. The latter is a purely voluntary organization with a membership of about seven hundred, the fee being one dollar, officered by a president, three vice-presidents, a secretary-treasurer, and fifteen directors, all elected by the members at the annual meeting. As the government of Illinois gives no State aid to private organizations of this sort, there is no organic union between the Society and the Library. But the librarian, or secretary-treasurer of the Library, Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber, is also the secretary-treasurer of the Society, and the Library uses a considerable part of its funds in the publications of the Society, issued in the name of the Library.

One of the most interesting features of the historical movement in Illinois is the growth of local societies. One of these, the Chicago Historical Society, of which the late Edward G. Mason was a well-known member, is a substantial and permanent organization of long standing, having a good library building and invested funds of more than three hundred thousand dollars. The German-American Historical Society, also of Chicago, is another active organization, publishing a quarterly devoted to the work the above name indicates. A strong effort is now being made by the State organization to advance the development of county societies. This has been so far successful that in 1907 there were in Illinois twenty county historical societies and four other organizations doing the work of county historical societies. Some of these are active and well established, others are intermittent in their efforts and their meetings, and some are probably moribund. A slight official connection between them and the State Historical Society is maintained in the provision that the presidents of local historical societies shall be honorary vice-presidents of that organization. We in Indiana should follow with interest this attempt to extend and popularize the study of local history and the preservation of historical material.

NOTES.

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

The annual meeting of the American Historical Association will be held in Washington, D. C., and Richmond, Va., on Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday, December 28-31, 1908. A reduced railroad rate of one fare and three-fifths, on the certificate plan, has been secured. The headquarters of the association will be, in Washington, the New Willard Hotel; in Richmond, the Jefferson.

Among the hospitalities tendered the members of the association will be the courtesies of many of the clubs in Washington and Richmond, special exhibits of the Division of Manuscripts and the Division of Maps in Washington, and in the Confederate Museum at Richmond, a reception by Ambassador and Mrs. Bryce and receptions by various social organizations at Richmond, and an excursion to the University of Virginia at Charlottesville.

The program includes addresses by James Bryce, James Ford Rhodes, George B. Adams, Charles H. Haskins, C. Raymond Beazley, O. H. Richardson, General Edward P. Alexander and others, and conferences on "The Relations of Geography to History," "History in Secondary Schools," "State and Local Historical Societies," "Research in English History," in "American Colonial and Revolutionary History," in "Southern History" and other topics of importance.

The arrangements for the meeting, the place of meeting and the program are all exceptionally attractive and it is to be hoped that there will be a large attendance from this State.

THE LASSELLE COLLECTION.

The Department of Archives and History of the Indiana State Library has recently secured for the library the collection which Mr. Charles B. Lasselle, of Logansport, had been collecting for over half a century. This collection of historic material is perhaps the best private one in this State. It is quite rich in manuscript material, a large part of which goes back to the territorial period and concerns Vincennes. There is also in the collection an almost complete file of Logansport news-

papers, beginning with the *Pottawatomie Times*, the first paper published in that region. There are other local newspapers, a number of valuable pamphlets, and many old books. There is also supposed to be practically a complete set of the Acts of the Indiana State Legislature, together with several interesting historical relics.

It will be some time before the materials can be inspected and classified sufficiently to give a definite idea of everything.

It is hoped, with this collection as a nucleus, that the Indiana State Library will be able to add rapidly to its collection of Indiana manuscript material.

MEETING OF OHIO VALLEY HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

The second annual meeting of the Ohio Valley Historical Association was held at Marietta, Ohio, on November 27 and 28. Especial interest attached to the meeting because of the historical associations of the meeting place. There was a good attendance of representatives from the several States of the Ohio Valley. The Friday morning session was devoted to a discussion of Historical Manuscript Collections, and methods of locating and indexing them. The result of this discussion was the appointment of a committee to locate and index such manuscript collections.

Friday afternoon there was a general public meeting, at which addresses were given by Miss Ellen Churchill Semple, on "The Relation Between Geography and History;" Dr. W. J. Holland, of Pittsburg, on "Historic Beginnings of the Ohio Valley;" Colonel John L. Vance, of Columbus, on "The Ohio River, Its Improvement and Commercial Importance;" and Vergil A. Lewis, of Charleston, West Virginia, on "Lord Dunmore's War." At the close of this session a reception was given for the delegates in the Ohio Company's Land Office, the oldest building in Ohio, and containing a collection of historical relics pertaining to the first settlement of Ohio.

On Friday evening a banquet was given at the Y. M. C. A. building, at which the principal address was made by President S. C. Mitchell, of the University of California. Dr. Mitchell made an impression on his audience for the keenness of his insight into the problems of the South, and by his extreme justness in han-

dling these problems. Professor T. C. Reve, of the Cincinnati Law School, was toastmaster.

On Saturday morning Mr. Arthur W. Dunn, of Indianapolis, read a paper on "The Civic Value of Local History," which was discussed by former city auditor W. G. Culkins, of Cincinnati, and by Professor Henry R. Spencer, of Ohio State University. Miss May Lowe, of Circleville, Ohio, was to have read a paper on "The Present Status of Local History in the Schools," but in her absence an abstract of her paper was presented by the secretary. The paper will appear in the published proceedings.

A business session followed, at which the election of officers was held. Professor T. C. Greve, of Cincinnati, was elected president; vice-presidents, W. W. Longmore, of Kentucky; Vergil Lewis, of West Virginia; A. W. Dunn, of Indiana, and Professor Elson, of Ohio; secretary and treasurer, Professor I. J. Cox, of Cincinnati; recording secretary and curator, Professor A. B. Hulbert, of Marietta College. A committee was appointed to investigate and report on the teaching of local history in the schools, and also one to investigate the location and indexing of manuscripts.

The Saturday afternoon session was devoted to three papers: "Braddock's Road," by Henry W. Temple, of Washington and Jefferson College; "Zane's Trace," by C. L. Martzollf, of Ohio University; and "The Old Maysville Road," by Samuel M. Wilson, of Lexington, Kentucky. In Mr. Wilson's absence, his paper was read for him by H. B. Mackóy, of Covington, Kentucky.

The choice of a place of meeting for next year was left with the executive committee. Invitations were extended by the representatives of a number of cities, but the meeting will probably go to Frankfort, Kentucky.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS.

TRUE INDIAN STORIES.

[By Jacob Piatt Dun. Illustrated. 320 pages. 1908. Sentinel Printing Company, Indianapolis. \$1.00.]

Mr. Dunn's latest work upon Indiana consists of two distinct parts which do not necessarily belong together, the first 252

pages being given to the narration of incidents in Indiana history in which Indians figure prominently, and the last 67 pages being an "Index Glossary of Indiana Indian Names." The stories include a life of Little Turtle, the murder of the Indian witches, the story of Tecumseh, the battle of Tippecanoe, William Wells, the defense of Fort Harrison, the Pigeon Roost massacre, the service of the Indian Logan in saving Ft. Wayne in 1812, the Walam Olum, the murder of the Indians at Pendleton, Frances Slocum and the removal of the last of the Potawatomies. These stories have appeared in the *Indianapolis News* during the last year or so and have been previously noticed in this magazine. They are interestingly told, and taken together give not only an impressive recital of individual exploits but illustrate admirably the leading traits of the Indians in their relations with the white men,—cunning and bravery in battle, childlike incompetence in the economic struggle for existence, blunt stoicism when face to face with suffering and death. Mr. Dunn could not have taken a better way to tell this chapter of our early history.

Much interest attaches also to the list of Indian names given at different times to places and rivers in Indiana. The retention of Indian names for our cities and rivers might well have been carried to a greater extent than it was. The restoration of such names, long displaced by English translations or substitutes, has occasionally been effected in Indiana, and is, in my opinion, to be heartily encouraged wherever possible. In some instances the phonetic advantage would perhaps be doubtful, as in the case of the name of Fall Creek sometimes applied by the Indians to Indianapolis, Chanktunoongi. But almost anything would be preferable to the lack of imagination shown by the recurrence of such names as Greenfield, Greenbrier, Greencastle, Greene Center, Greenhill, Green Mound, Greenoak, Green Spring, Greentown, Greenville, Greenwood (these times repeated in Indiana), or Brown, Brownsburg, Brownstown, Browns Valley, Brownsville. One of the best sounding Indian names in the State was Wah-pi-kah-me-ki which ought never to have been surrendered for its equivalent, White River.

The effort to get the original meaning of Indian names, however, is a different matter. It is at best an antiquarian and etymological task of great difficulty and of little value. In most cases the explanations given by surviving Indians of this and the two or three preceding generations seem to a layman, even when plausible, to be entitled to little credence. And the present form of Indian names that have been preserved and whose derivation is often known, is so corrupted that the Indians themselves would not recognize it. If any one among us, however, is able to trace these names in their devious windings, Mr. Dunn is the man, and since he has the patience to do it we would do well to take the utmost advantage of his results. C. B. COLEMAN.

INDIANA IN THE MEXICAN WAR.

[By Oran Perry, Adjutant-General of Indiana. Illustrated. State Printer.]

Compilations are not usually attractive as literature. While this volume was not written to please, we venture the assertion that no single piece of historical work of more value has been done in the State for a long time. There is no attempt to pass judgment upon the facts, but merely to collect the material. The work is impartially done. Mr. Perry has gone carefully over the newspapers of the period,—the *Indiana Sentinel*, *Madison Courier*, *State Journal*, *Indiana Journal* and *New Albany Democrat*,—and culled incidents and narratives long since forgotten. County histories, State and Federal documents, have also been of great assistance to the compiler. The volume contains the portraits of Governor Whitcomb, Adjutant-General David Reynolds and the colonels of the five Indiana regiments which served in the war. The controversy about the retreat of the second regiment is brought forward with papers and reports.

There is nothing of greater value in this volume than the roster of the five regiments and the mounted riflemen. This roster is quite complete and the best ever published.

The work is a credit to Mr. Perry and provides a most useful reference work upon this portion of Indiana history.

This valuable compilation should have a good index. The extracts, reports and sketches are difficult to find without such an index. This is lacking. For instance: "A tug of war" is of

no value, though a short extract has such a heading. "Death of W. H. Custer," instead of "Custer, W. H., Death of," is unpardonable. The index is evidently put in as a mere formality, and there is no table of contents of any sort. A reviewer can hardly condemn this shortcoming too strongly, as it deprives the book of half of its value for use in reference work or historical study.

RUSH COUNTY—HISTORICAL, EDUCATIONAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL.

[Rushville Publishing Co.]

There are seven contributors to this historical atlas of Rush county. The volume contains county and township maps, with town plats, directories of the land owners, a history of the government of the county and of the schools, some biographies and a compilation of laws. The last is quite unnecessary in such a publication, even though well done.

John L. Shank writes the history of the schools, which, by the way, include the well-known Fairview Academy, a classical school of high standing conducted by Allen R. Benton, who lives now at Indianapolis, in Irvington. The biographical list is entirely too short. It should be complete if given at all. The historical outline of the county government and business is much better.

SONS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION—INDIANA SOCIETY, 1908.

[By Charles W. Moores. Illustrated. 163 pages. Indianapolis, 1908. Published by the Society.]

The current year book of the Indiana Society of the Sons of the American Revolution is well gotten up. It contains besides constitutional and membership matters, portraits of the presidents of the society, records of revolutionary ancestors of members of the society, and other papers of interest. Among these should be mentioned the list of pensioners of the Revolutionary War residing in Indiana in 1835, arranged by counties, copied from "Senate Documents, Pension Roll, 1st Session, 23rd Congress, Volume 3." The editor of the year book gives the total as eight hundred and ten. Most of these are said to have died and have been buried in Indiana.

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